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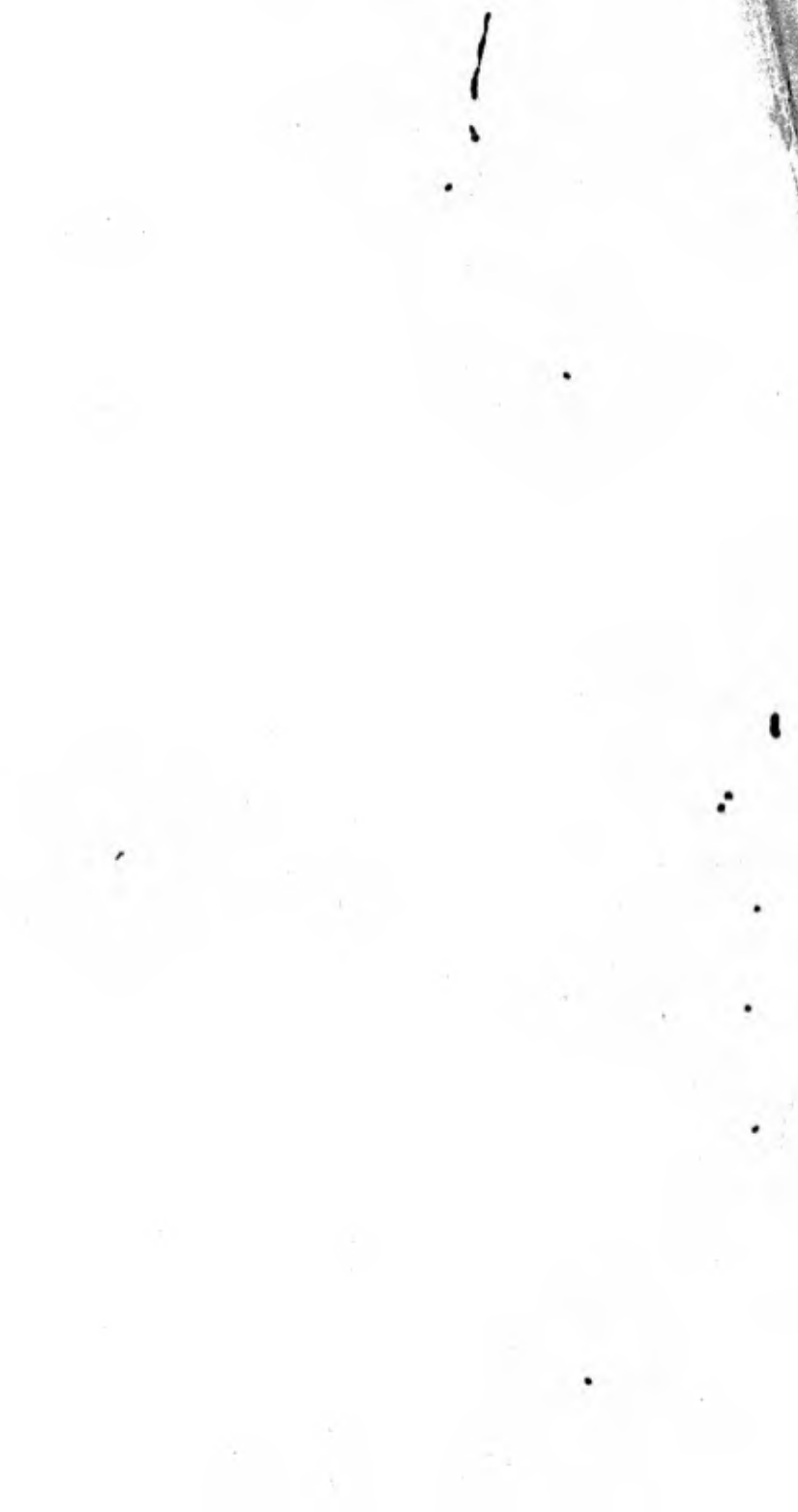
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THE RAINBOW BRIDGE

A Study of Paganism





THE RAINBOW BRIDGE

A Study of Paganism

BY
JOHN STRONG NEWBERRY

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TO
ROSAMOND SERGEANT NEWBERRY



Then said Gangleri: 'What is the way to heaven from earth?' Then Harr answered, and laughed aloud: 'Now, that is not wisely asked; has it not been told thee that the gods made a bridge from earth to heaven, called Bifröst? Thou must have seen it; it may be that ye call it "rainbow." It is of three colors, and very strong, and made with cunning and with more magic art than other works of craftsmanship.'

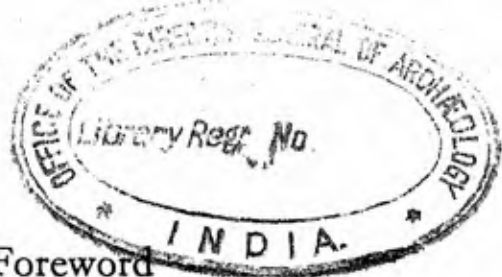
SNORRI STURLUSON, *The Prose Edda*, translated by Brodeur

To penetrate to the heart of a civilization we ought to begin with a knowledge of its gods. And in the very end that is what we come back to.

The creation of the gods is the most natural, the most secret, the slowest, the loftiest, of the works of man. It is the supreme achievement of his profound experiences. It is the mysterious fruit of minds in the mass.

PAUL-LOUIS COUCHOUD





Foreword

THIS tale of beasts and men and demi-gods and gods traces the history of paganism from the Stone Age to the Age of Perikles. I have undertaken to analyze the ideas that formed the basis of the religious cults of the cavemen, the Sumerians, the Chinese and Japanese, the Hindus, the Egyptians, the Persians, the Hebrews, the Phrygians, and the Greeks, and to co-ordinate these different racial attempts to exploit the supernatural, thus showing how the beliefs of the savage evolved into the creed of the most enlightened race of ancient times. I have also tried to establish the relation between the religious impulse and the rise of literature.

The general structure of the book and the various theories which I have here presented as working hypotheses came from whatever gods there be. They were not consciously derived from any man or any book. I wish to express my sincere appreciation, however, to the many writers whose works I have cited, and especially to Gilbert Murray whose studies of the mythology of Greece have helped me enormously.

I have been fortunate enough to receive the advice and assistance of men whose knowledge of special fields was far greater than mine. The chapter on China and Japan has been carefully checked over by Professor Serge Elisséeff of the Sorbonne, now in charge of Chinese and Japanese studies at Harvard. That on India has been approved by Professor Walter Eugene Clark of Harvard. In preparing the chapter on Egypt, I was guided by Professor George Andrew Reisner, though, owing to his absence from the country, I have not been able to show him the result of my researches. The chapter on Hellenic heroes and deities has been thoroughly discussed with Professor Charles Burton Gulick. Professor Joshua Whatmough has given me great assistance in all that concerns Indo-European. I am grateful for the friendly interest of Professors Fred Norris Robinson and Gustavus Howard Maynadier of Harvard

FOREWORD

and of Professor William Lyon Phelps of Yale. It was the encouragement of Professor George Lyman Kittredge which first started me on this work. To all these men I offer my very cordial thanks.

JOHN STRONG NEWBERRY

Boston, Massachusetts

1933

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THE RAINBOW BRIDGE

Chapter I

THE CREED OF THE CAVE-MAN

Man, the egregious egoist
(In mystery the twig is bent)
Imagines, by some mental twist,
That he alone is sentient....

ELINOR WYLIE

ONE of the axioms of civilization is that there is a profound distinction between the lowest man and the highest animal. The mystic expresses this by the assertion that even the basest of our race has an immortal soul, and is thus superior to the beasts that perish. God, having labored for uncounted æons to make our lands and seas, and to evolve from protozoic slime the vertebrated mammals, endued a single species with the power to survive the death of the body. The pragmatist, having never encountered souls, denies that they exist, but he is quite as certain as the mystic that men are on a different plane from apes and guinea-pigs and dogs and horses. He finds in human beings two basic qualities which set them apart from other forms of life: the ability to think and the ability to pray. For him, the development of these two traits marks the point in the tree of evolution where humanity branched off from the bestial stock. Thus he defines man in two different ways, as a reasoning animal and as a religious animal, a potential scientist or a potential priest.

The soul, presumably, is the praying part, the source of that aspiration towards the infinite which, according to the mystic,

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renders men 'better than sheep or goats who nourish a blind life within the brain.' The belief that it can exist independent of the flesh is one of the clearest manifestations of the religious sense. Therefore these two points of view are not so far apart as might at first appear. The saint agrees with the evolutionist that at a certain biologic stage the will to worship was implanted and instinct was transformed to logic. It was this double birth of faith and thought which ushered man into this mortal scene.

If we accept this conclusion of those best qualified to deal with spirit and matter, the proper study of man, of religion, and of reason must begin with the earliest records of these humanizing gifts. We cannot fully fathom existing creeds nor the brain-processes of ourselves and our contemporaries unless we know the raw materials which in this modern age we unthinkingly utilize. The living present is only an adaptation of the ever-living past. No superstition fully dies, no thought is wholly new. The scientist has added to our comfort and increased our knowledge of the universe. Our sky-scrapers dwarf the Parthenon, but the mental stature of those who occupy them would not have proportionately impressed the ancient Athenians. Nor in the field of morality and religion, where progress is traditionally slow, have we made such mighty strides as we imagine. Christ did not seek to found a new religion, but to reform an old Semitic creed which differed only in certain minor aspects from the worship of the Hittites and Philistines. The Christianity we profess today is sublimated paganism. To understand how we got our ideas and came by our beliefs, we must go deep into the night of time and consider the ways of the savage.

The initial result of thus turning back the clock is the discovery that religion is older than reasoning. Its elemental form is magic which is viewed askance today, since, in civilized communities, it has degenerated into sleight of hand or conscious charlatanism. Nevertheless it is to magic that we owe the introduction of all the sciences, the industries and the arts. Physics and chemistry commenced among the alchemists. A witch-doctor was the first physician, and the altar of a god was

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the original operating-table. The study of planets is based on astrology. Even mathematics, the purest of sciences, started with mumbo-jumbo. The names for the numbers belonged to pagan gods, as did those of the days of the week. Temples were made before houses. The taming of animals and the sowing of the fields sprang out of totemism. It was not to keep out the cold that men clad themselves in skins, but to gain a magical advantage. *Cooking and heating are a heritage from the worshipers of fire, and cleanliness was once a part of godliness. The smelting of ore was anciently a rite, and the extracting of metal was regarded as divine. Our ancestors bowed down before the axe, the sword, the bow and the spear. The oldest writings were traced by a magician as powerful enchantments, a fact which is fossilized in the English verb 'to spell.' The original hero of fiction was a god, and the earliest histories were votive tablets. Drama, singing, dancing, and the playing of instruments arose as rituals. The paintings and sculptures of the archaic world were not the work of artists but of wizards. Solomon showed his wisdom when he said that the fear of God is the beginning of knowledge.

Further evidence of this phenomenon is supplied by modern research into the minds of those primitive peoples who still exist today. Lévy-Brühl,² the leading authority on the subject, declares that savages are incapable of making the most obvious deductions. To them a physical cause is as fantastic as a miraculous one appears to us. Witches and ghosts are things of every day, but as to the force of gravity they are frankly incredulous. Since they regard the outer forms of things as merely camouflage, no matter how clearly you explain a mechanical device they are sure that what it seems to accomplish is really due to sorcery. Their births, their deaths, and all the events between they attribute to supernatural agencies. In other words, they have not yet developed the scientific instinct, but they possess, to a supreme degree, the spirit of mysticism. Our paleolithic progenitors may have been such as these. If so, we must revise our definition. Primitive man was not a reasoning being. He was simply a religious animal.

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What is it, then, that makes the savage a step above the beast? All animals fear the supernatural, that is, the thing that is unfamiliar, and hence, unaccountable. The horse that shies at a blowing bit of paper, the lion that does not dare approach a fire, the dog that cowers before an unseen presence, are all a prey to superstition. But they are never the wiser for their fears. Man came to grips with the invisible. He tried to find a way of controlling it, a system of rites and sacrifices which would constrain or bribe the demons or deities. In conquering his supernatural environment he became the lord of creation. It was the greatest single advance in the story of evolution, and the one which has left the deepest stamp on the people of today. Man is only man because he was once a pagan, and the theory of how and why he learned to worship, though it has never been written, is properly the opening chapter in the book of human thought.

Our records of the cults of man begin with the paleolithic period, the age of rough stone weapons, a time which the archæologists have reckoned as from twenty to fifty thousand years ago. On the walls of certain caves in southern France and northern Spain our ancient ancestors engraved or painted the portraits of the animals they hunted, and supplemented these with similar representations on ivory, bone, or horn, discovered in the deposits round their hearths. The animals depicted were almost exclusively those which were killed for food. They were uniformly fat, and many were pierced by arrows. The hunters themselves do not appear, nor the great carnivorous beasts, which clearly shows that the designs were not intended as a chronicle of daily life. And since the cave decorations are never placed to advantage, but, on the contrary, appear far from the light of day, in secret grottoes difficult to find, their primary purpose cannot have been artistic. The fact that they are painted one on top of the other, each craftsman blotting out the work of his predecessors, is further proof that we are not concerned with that anomaly, the æsthetic savage. Moreover, the technical proficiency argues a long apprenticeship for which the average troglodyte could scarcely have spared the time. It has, there-

fore, been concluded that these artists were priests or medicine-men, and that the pictures they drew were part of their stock in trade, the chief components in a charm intended to give good luck in hunting or increase the supply of game.²

A similar ceremony is still performed today by the totem-clans of the Arunta in the hinterlands of Australia.³ It is an important feature in a stage of totemism more primitive than that which has survived among the redskins of our continent, or the Dravidians of India, or the Bantu and Negro tribes of darkest Africa. The religious development of the aborigines of northern and central Australia has been retarded, if not completely halted, by their utter isolation.⁴ Except for the last half-century or so, they have been cut off from the outer world since paleolithic times, through the subsidence of the great peninsulas which once had joined their land to both the western and eastern hemispheres, and, linking it with South America, with Africa, and with Asia, had formed a great Antarctic continent.⁵ In physical type they are identical with the cave-men of France and Spain, possessing an extreme long-headedness only equaled today by those antipodes, the Africans and the Eskimos.⁶ Thus, in spite of the differences of time and space, it should not be surprising to find them at the same religious level as the artists of the caverns. If this should prove correct, it would establish a curious paradox. The earliest example of religion, the new departure which led to man's dominion over all forms of life, was the worship of a beast.

A further bond between the Arunta and the troglodytes of Europe was discovered forty years ago in the cave of Mas-d'Azil. The layer which represents the Middle Stone Age contains a number of oval stones painted with odd designs, closely resembling the decorations on the *churinga*, or external souls, of the Australian aborigines, the circles, curves, spirals or dots which form the totemic sign. A whole series of the European stones bear a pattern exactly duplicating that displayed on the *churinga* of the Hakea tree.⁷ Their Australian equivalents are supposed to be handed down by the spirit-ancestors of the tribe, half bestial and half human. According to the popular belief,

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the ghosts of the dead assume the forms of their totem-animals and those of each clan assemble at their proper rallying-point, a place well known to the living. When a woman comes that way, one of them enters her, thus causing her to be pregnant. This is the only way that babies are begot, for the natives deny that union of the sexes has any influence on generation. The spirit who thus obtains a second incarnation drops his *churinga* at the spot where this has been accomplished. A search is made for it as soon as the child is born, since this is the only clue to his totemic clan and so determines his future. If the stone *churinga* cannot be discovered, a substitute is cut from the nearest hardwood tree, but when the elders are well versed in magic they find the original. This new totemic badge is laid beside the others in a sacred hiding place, which thus contains a stone or stick for each member of the clan.⁸ It may have been such a hoard, or a series of such hoards, that the archæologists unearthed in France. And near-by in one of the upper layers of the paleolithic deposits of Saint-Marcel was discovered the prototype of the painted stones, an object of similar shape marked with a dot surrounded by a circle. Paintings of similar type were found at Mas-d'Azil.⁹ Such geometric figures are particularly frequent in the rock drawings of central Australian tribes and, with varying numbers of concentric circles, occur on the *churinga* of several totems.¹⁰ Thus the decorated stones of Mas-d'Azil, in conjunction with the cave paintings of Altamira, La Mouthe, and Font-de-Gaumes, establish the fact that paleolithic man practiced the special form of totemism which still survives in Australia.

Common customs in two lands so far apart might be attributed to independent invention. But in this case a connecting link exists. In the Vindhya Mountains of Central India there is another series of caves where artists of paleolithic times have pictured animals, some of them pierced by darts. As in Europe, they are never near the entrance, but in hidden crypts and *cubs-de-sac* unlighted by the sun. In addition to single beasts, the Indian artist has sometimes represented hunting scenes, and also dances where the performers are elaborately masked. These

resemble to an extraordinary degree the Stone Age paintings in Spain on the rock-faces of Alpera and Cogul. On the other hand, the style of the figures suggests the Australian rock-carvings. And among the animals depicted appears the kangaroo, which has been extinct in India practically from the time when that country and Australia severed their geologic relations.¹¹ It was from Asia that the ancestors of the Arunta and their neighbors originally came, while the land-bridge still existed. Their speech is related to various dialects of Dravidian India,¹² where totemism is still a vital force.¹³ Thus the cave artists of India must have been closely related to the forebears of the aborigines who settled in Australia, and have cherished a faith which still endures today in that atavistic island. This must likewise have been true of the long-skulled African Bushmen whose totemic rock-paintings in Rhodesia have been attributed to the Stone Age.¹⁴ And, if ethnologists are correct in concluding that all the peoples who carried length of cranium to excess were branches of a single family, the cave-men of Gaul must have got their creed where they got their physical characteristics. The center of diffusion may be under the sea today, since it lay in the great Antarctic continent, the lost Atlantis of the most ancient world. At all events, that cradle of the Longheads was the true Garden of Eden where a soul was breathed into animate clay and man was created through the birth of the earliest religion.

The future lord of the fowl and the brute was slow in realizing that his status had been changed. He continued to regard himself as of one flesh with his fellow-creatures. And this was natural, since, in the hunting stage, there is little difference between a man and a carnivorous beast. Both live in rocky lairs and look upon existence as chiefly concerned with the satisfaction of physical desires. And the creed which was destined to divide the two asserted their complete identity. Men believed that the totem-animals were doublets of themselves except for the accident of outer semblance.¹⁵ Killing the totem was as great a crime as the murder of a clansman.¹⁶ It was punishable by death, and the unfortunate victim was sorrowfully interred

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with all the honor accorded to a chieftain. Dead members of the species which were discovered by chance were likewise mourned and buried. The sacred beast was regarded as the founder of the clan, as well as the begetter of all its members, each of whom, when human life was done, was supposed to assume his bodily shape. He was Alpha and Omega, the beginning and the end.

Such beliefs were by no means confined to the Australians, for totemism is the one foundation of all religious thought, the aboriginal basis of every myth and cult. Survivals of it exist in every land. Indeed it was the source of social progress. Paradoxically, it was this which induced our ancestors not only to domesticate animals, but also to grow crops, to abandon hunting for pastoral life, and to give up the customs of the nomad, who roved about that his flocks and herds might find good pasturage, for the settled life of the agriculturist, bound to a fixed locality where he had cleared away the forest and fertilized the soil. Both these transitions were due to totemism, and could not have occurred without it.

The savage, engaged in a constant fight to keep himself alive, and totally ignorant of the cause of reproduction, would never have thought of taming animals to free himself from the chances of the chase and gain a certain food supply from the increase of his herds. Nor would it ever have occurred to him to plant the grains and berries and fruits he gathered in the forest. To us, familiar with ranches, chicken-yards, farms, and gardens, it seems an entirely natural step to take. But to visualize what one has never seen requires a type of imagination which even today is rare. Primitive man, who was not a reasoning being, but attributed every happening to magic, was incapable of such a flight of fancy. When fruits were found or animals were captured, the invariable procedure was to eat them. That meal was sure, and where the next would come from they had no means of knowing. But totem-animals and plants were on a different plane. They could not themselves be used for food, but, as guardians of the clan, they could be of immense assistance in the struggle with hunger and with human foes. Their movements or cries were omens of good or evil fortune. It was

almost indispensable to have some specimens at hand where they could be consulted in any crisis. It was thus that herds and gardens first began. The captive beasts and the cultivated plants originally were sacred. It was the breaking down of old taboos which made them provender instead of masters.¹⁷ This was in part a consequence, in part a contributory cause, of the totem's normal evolution into a god who had a human form.

It needs but a brief historical survey to show that animals were never tamed in order that they, or their offspring, might be eaten later on. The evidence of archæology shows that the dog was the earliest animal to be domesticated, though dog's flesh did not form a part of the paleolithic menu. The dingo, or wild dog, is the only beast that the Australian aborigines have taken into their households. Even the clans who have a different totem do not include the dog among their dishes.¹⁸ The most ancient breeders of horses worshiped that animal. Our distaste for its meat may be grounded on their cult.¹⁹ A pastoral tribe of South Africa, the Dinka, subsist on dairy products, but, like the Hindus, they do not dine on beef. If a cow falls sick they construct a special hut as her private hospital, and, if she dies, there is universal mourning.²⁰ Sour milk is the chief support of the Herero, a tribe of West Africa. They slaughter bulls only on rare occasions, and never butcher either cows or calves.²¹ In Egypt also the cow was never killed and, unless the priest had marked him for sacrifice, the man who slew a bull was promptly executed.²² In Athens, at a certain festival, the sacrificers of an ox were solemnly tried for murder, and only escaped by incriminating the axe, which was thrown into the Ægean.²³ The Jews were not the only race to place a ban on pork. The Caingua Indians of Paraguay also abstained from it because they thought that pigs had once been men.²⁴ The Russians were raisers of pigeons, but they never roasted them nor put them in a pie.²⁵ The Britons of Cæsar's time kept geese and hens and hares, although they never ate them.²⁶ There were similar taboos on the products of fields and orchards. The Dravidian Bhils have trees and plants as totems.

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They may not eat their fruits nor injure them, and when they pass them the men bow down and the women veil their faces.²⁷ The stories of Adam's apple and Persephone's pomegranate²⁸ appear to be based on primitive taboos like that which restricted women from grinding flour during the mourning for Tammuz because the grain was the body of that god.²⁹ The tribute drawn today from the farms and from the stockyards is a by-product of religion. We are fed by fallen totems.

Nor are dietary taboos the only proof of the savage's belief that he and his totem were of one flesh and blood. From every part of the inhabited world where sacred beasts still exist, or have existed, comes other evidence to the same effect. If a Samoan whose totem was the owl encountered the dead body of that bird, he would shed copious tears and strike his forehead with stones until it bled. Then he would piously enshroud the corpse and bury it as if it had been his brother.³⁰ The Pakilaba and Tarago birds were similarly treated in New Zealand,³¹ the crocodile in German New Guinea,³² the lobster in Seriphos,³³ the gazelle in southern Arabia. In Athens a man who killed a wolf was forced to bury it by subscription,³⁴ a clear survival of a totemic cult. When the Krakiutl Indians of British Columbia committed a like crime, everyone wailed above the corpse, crying, 'Woe! our great friend!' ³⁵ The slaying of snakes was forbidden in Argos,³⁶ and that of storks in Thessaly,³⁷ though we are not told what happened to the victims. The serpent clan of the Punjab put clothes on all dead snakes and placed them in a grave.³⁸ The Egyptians considered it a monstrous crime to cause the death of a cat,³⁹ and the mummies of this animal have been found in tens of thousands. That repulsive eater of corpses, the hyena, is given a gorgeous wake, surpassing that of a chieftain, by an East African tribe, the Wanika.⁴⁰ In Assam, the Tiger-Men of the Kacharis bemoan for a day and a night the death of their tutelary animal, and during that time may taste no solid food.⁴¹ If a snake is accidentally killed at Kiziba, in Central Africa, the snake-priest strikes his drum as a sign that all work must be suspended till the reptile's funeral rites have been

performed.⁴² When a dead leopard is brought to Idah, in southern Nigeria, its body, robed in white, is borne from house to house while the natives follow it chanting and beating drums, and the guns of all the hunters of the village must fire a last salute above its tomb.⁴³

That the sacred beast, in certain of these cases, was honored more than his human counterpart was due to the fear of ghosts. The belief that the souls of the dead took refuge in the totem is characteristic of every savage tribe, in the New World as in the Old. The Hopi Indians declared their clans were descended from animals and that at death each man reverted to type, becoming a bear, or a deer, or a rattlesnake.⁴⁴ The Zuñi were of precisely the same opinion.⁴⁵ The Piaroas of the Orinoco traced their lineage to the tapir, and thought that they would be tapirs when they died.⁴⁶ The Canelos of Ecuador expected to be born again as jaguars, and did not kill these animals except on great provocation.⁴⁷ The Popayan Indians of Colombia would not eat venison, for they maintained that the souls of the just are reincarnated as deer.⁴⁸ The Indians of California would only consume the small wild animals, believing that the large ones held the souls of past generations of men.⁴⁹ The Black Shoulder clan of the Omahas, whose totem was the buffalo, muffled a dying tribesman in the skin of that sacred beast and told him to be strong, for he was going to the buffaloes to rejoin his ancestors. Another buffalo clan of this tribe performed a similar rite, and said to the moribund warrior, 'You came hither from the animals and you are going back thither. Do not face this way again.'⁵⁰

The seas that engulfed Antarctica cover the ancient road between America and Asia. The scattered islands of the Pacific are fragments of that prehistoric highway. Once they were parts of a single continent, and the traditions of their primeval faith bind them together still. Thus the Gilbert Islanders believe that the souls of their ancestors have taken the forms of fish, and birds and beasts.⁵¹ The Fijians think that the totem-animal always appears to a woman before the birth of her baby,⁵² a weakened form of the Australian creed

that he entered into her and was her child. 'On being asked why he adored the rat, a Fijian answered, 'Because he is our father.' ⁵³ Aquatic birds are the totems of New Ireland. They are found in flowing waters, especially mountain springs. There the souls of the dead are supposed to congregate, nesting among the trees.⁵⁴ In the Banks' Islands and the New Hebrides the totem-nut or totem-fruit is said to cause conception, and the child is supposed to be merely that nut or fruit, superficially disguised. But it is also regarded as an ancestor reincarnate.⁵⁵ In Dutch New Guinea disembodied spirits were said to dwell in fish, or pigs, or cassowaries.⁵⁶ Each clan in the Pelew Islands possesses some sacred being, either fish, or flesh, or fowl, in which they used to believe that their forefathers lived again.⁵⁷ A tribe in the Philippines declares that its dead assume the form of eels.⁵⁸ The Kayans of Borneo say that the human soul, on departing from the body, becomes a deer or an ape,⁵⁹ while the Battas of Sumatra testify that it enters into a tiger.⁶⁰

At the other end of the ethnic bridge of islands the same ideas persist among isolated Asiatic tribes. The Chams of Indo-China still maintain that when each individual dies he begins a new existence as a snake, a squirrel, or a crocodile.⁶¹ At Ang Teng, a village of Upper Burma, the natives think that their predecessors are domiciled in fish.⁶² The people of Kon-Meney in Cochin-China tell of a chief who returned to life as a toad. He appeared to his son in a dream and demanded sacrifices, vowing that if they were offered the harvests would be good.⁶³ One of the Naga tribes of Manipur will not injure butterflies for fear of harming their progenitors.⁶⁴ For the same reason their kinsmen of Assam spare the flies that light on their wine-cups.⁶⁵ The Gilyaks of Saghalien attempt to regulate which of their ancestors shall be reborn. At the festival of the bear they sacrifice one of these beasts to ensure a good supply of game and fish, and afterwards beat the skin of the victim, crying aloud the name of any dead man whose reincarnation they wish to bring about. His soul will then return in the next baby.⁶⁶ This ursine lord of the Otherworld, without his animal characteristics, meets us again in the god of the Koryaks who

live in northeastern Asia. He sends to the mother's womb the soul of a departed relative, chosen from those which hang by straps from the rafters of his house. The length of the strap determines the span of life.⁶⁷ Such supervisors of rebirth are clearly ancient totems, and the straps are external souls, the *churinga* of the Australians.

This totemism that circled round the globe had then for its material results the taming of animals and the cultivation of crops. But its spiritual effects were more important. It was the source of the fertility cult from which religion grew, the first attempt to control by magic the destiny of man. This was the genesis of paleolithic art. By a curious fluke of fate, we can reconstruct the worship of the artists of the caves, those wizards of the dawn of history, through the analogous customs of the Australian aborigines.

We have seen that the killing of the totem was punishable by death, and that the eating of its flesh was utterly tabooed. These crimes were equivalent to battenning on one's brother, and violating the family burying-ground. But once a year the totem was sacrificed, and served in a communal feast of which all the clan partook. It was a preface to the attempt to multiply the totem by sympathetic magic. For this purpose the men engaged in ritualistic dances, depicting the life-history of the totem. They were masked and otherwise disguised so as to represent that animal. At the same time the chief magicians traced pictures of the totem on the earth, on cliffs, or on the walls of caves, in places from which the children, women, and uninitiated men were carefully excluded. The efficacy of this important spell is believed to be in direct proportion to the closeness of the likeness, both choral and artistic. That is why the sacrifice takes place. By consuming the victim the clansman absorbs its *mana*, the basic qualities of its identity, and so, in a mystic sense, becomes the beast which he wishes to portray. In this way, his magic acts more directly and powerfully, and is more effective in strengthening and increasing the totem and the clan, thus ensuring for them both a lucky year.⁶⁸

It has been very plausibly conjectured ⁶⁹ that in the earliest

stages of totemism, the clan ate nothing but its totem and was wholly endogamous. For instance, a kangaroo-man lived on the kangaroo and married a kangaroo-woman. As the source of the food supply, the kangaroo was worshiped, and it was not supposed to be greatly inconvenienced by being killed and eaten, since it would find another incarnation as an animal or a man. Buddha gave his body to nourish a hungry tiger, and in similar fashion the totem-animal perished to feed the tribe. But with the strengthening of the mystic tie the male beast became a brother of the clansman, and the female beast a sister. To kill the totem was fratricide, and, through this curious muddling of the species, to mate with a kangaroo-woman was equivalent to incest. That they might satisfy their scruples and yet supply their needs, a number of clans united to form a tribe. The kangaroo-men and the emu-men joined forces. Kangaroo-men could marry emu-women and were permitted to kill and eat the emu, provided they did it in such a way as not to outrage the emu-men, and the same arrangement applied to the other clans. The magical increasing of the totem was still regarded as the source of the tribal food supply, though, in that respect, each clan was altruistic. But since the totem-animals were equivalent to men, and were the only engenderers of babies, the rite was also the source of the tribe supply and in this each clan was working for itself. By that oldest and most enduring form of magic the paleolithic community obtained the two essentials of prosperity, meal-power and man-power. The totem-animal was the prototype of the fertility-god.

But workers, warriors, and comestibles were not enough for paleolithic man. He wished to conquer death, as well as dearth. And since he was a religious animal, and the only religion that he knew was magic, he tried to accomplish this by sorcery. The only direct evidence as to how he went about it is the way that he treated his dead. The flesh was stripped away, and the more enduring framework was painted with red ochre and entrusted to a cave.⁷⁰ These practices are still employed by the tribes of Central Australia. The scraping of the skeleton is ex-

plained by the belief that the soul will be imprisoned in the body until the bones are bare. The red ochre is a substitute for blood. Australian boys are smeared with it in the mimic death of initiation, that they may appear like infants newly born. They are supposed to die as adolescents, thus to achieve a second birth as men.⁷² In the initiations a bull-roarer is employed, made of a small *churinga* and a strand of twisted hair. When this is whirled rapidly about, it produces a weird rumbling. The novice is told that the noise is the roaring of the totem who will gulp him down and later spit him up.⁷³ At Saint-Marcel in the lowest layer of paleolithic deposits a bull-roarer has been found.⁷³ Death also, according to the Australian view, is an initiation into a different life. The man goes back to the totem, and so regains his youth. And the red ochre on the bones, like that applied to the boys, was a device of imitative magic intended to change the dead man to a baby, to help him in his totemic transformation into a future member of the clan.

The ceremony employed by the Arunta is somewhat complicated, for it was intended both to aid the deceased and to protect the clan, on whom the ghost might seek to be revenged or to vent his anger because they were still alive. His widow and his *Unawas*, the girls he might have married, were in especial danger from his spite. They smeared themselves with white pipe-clay daubed with ashes, and gashed themselves with fire-sticks. They were also compelled to be silent, sometimes for as long as a year. When they wished this ban removed, they left the woman's camp, led by the widow, who bore aloft a bowl of edible seed, and marched to the center of the settlement. Here they were joined by those who, by blood or tribal relation, were ranked as the dead man's sons or younger brothers. To them the widow handed the bowl of seed. As many as possible caught hold of it, all shouting, 'Wah! Wah! Wah!' The putative wives, who all this time had been lamenting loudly, ceased their tears to echo this, but the widow continued to wail. The bowl was then brought close to her face, and magic passes were made to the right and left of her cheeks. At

this she stopped crying and faintly joined the chorus. The bowl was placed on the ground behind the men, who, squatting before the women, began to strike their shields against the ground. The widow then sprang to her feet and took part in a ritualistic chant, intoned by all to the rhythm of thudding shields. After this the men returned to their camp and ate the seeds in the widow's bowl. She and her companions were now permitted to speak. The rite had freed them from the dead man's wrath and they could resume their usual occupation, the gathering of seeds and tubers for the men of their totem group.

Meanwhile the remains of the dead man had been laid away in a grave, there to await the final ceremony which took place when the widow had made a magic chaplet composed of the bones of little animals, porcupine-grass, short locks of the hair of the dead man's younger sisters, tail-feathers of the black cockatoo, and tail-tips of the rabbit-bandicoot. When this was ready she was smeared with pipe-clay and, bearing the chaplet in a hollow trough, she led a procession of wailing women to where the male relatives were seated. Each of them mourned above the chaplet as though it had been the dead man. All now proceeded to his former camp, which had been burned when he died, and the men danced about its charred remains, beating the air with their spear-throwers, while the women sobbed and wailed. Then they all rushed to the grave, in which the spirit was supposed to have taken refuge, and danced upon it and round it, beating the air downward and shouting, 'Wah! Wah!' while they stamped on the twigs with which the grave was covered. When these were thoroughly broken, the dancing ceased, and the surface of the grave was cleared. The women, still lamenting, clustered round it and struck their heads with war-clubs till the soil was soaked with their blood. The widow scratched a hole in the reddened ground, and, tearing the chaplet to pieces, deposited it there, heaping the earth above it. Thereafter she rubbed the pipe-clay from her body to show that her mourning was over.⁷⁴

There is more to this than protective exorcism. The chaplet had a definite magic purpose. And what this was can be easily

deciphered by comparing with this rite of the Arunta the totemic ceremonies and beliefs of certain African tribes and the burial customs elsewhere in Australia.

The Tshi-speaking tribes of the Gold Coast still practice totemism, but in an altered form. They say that each of them has an external soul contained in a totem-animal. If the beast dies the man will perish also, and the converse is likewise true. At death these parts of the soul are temporarily blended within a single body whence the human half enters into a woman in order to be reborn. In the leopard clan the mortuary customs are intended to change the dead man to a leopard. Its picture is scratched on the coffin, and on the dead man's house. The mourners also make spots on their bodies and on the neck of the corpse. They think that if they failed to do this, his soul would never return.⁷⁵

The Effik and Ekoi tribes of Nigeria have a similar belief in an animal counterpart, the bush-soul as they call it. If one of them falls sick it is attributed to the fact that his bush-soul is angry with him, and he must appease it by sacrifice if he wishes to recover. But should his little brother of the bush go to the last extreme and cherish a fatal resentment, its own life would be cut short, for on the death of the man it would go mad and perish by attacking a hunting party or leaping into a campfire.⁷⁶

The Siena, who occupy the French Soudan between the Ivory Coast and the Upper Niger, have worked out a rational form of totemism. They hold that when a man dies his soul enters one of his totem-animals which is born that very moment. When it has drawn its final breath, the disembodied spirit obtains a new incarnation by entering a baby. Thus the human and animal phases of existence are successive, not simultaneous. But the death of the beast is indispensable to the rebirth of the savage as a man.⁷⁷

The dead clansman, in all these cases, cannot gain a new existence till his bush-soul is likewise freed from its mortal clay. Among the Beni, in South Nigeria, its destruction is not left to chance. On the first day of the funeral the totem is killed and cooked. A bowl of the resulting broth is placed at the

corpse's feet. The meat may be eaten by the family, or given to strangers, or thrown away. At the end of the ceremony the assembled relatives touch the broth to their lips and then pour it out on the ground. They think that the omission of this rite would prevent the deceased from being reborn, in spirit or in flesh.⁷⁸

This totemic ceremony is the probable beginning of the funerary sacrifices offered to African chiefs even in tribes where the totemic clans have wholly disappeared. Among the Moro a bull is slain and eaten.⁷⁹ A similar custom exists among the Bari.⁸⁰ The Nilotic Negroes line their chieftain's grave with an ox-hide freshly flayed, and sprinkle the mound with ox-blood.⁸¹ Rumanika, son of Dagara, a powerful Nilotic leader, killed a cow each year at his father's grave, and placed fresh grain upon it, that he might obtain good crops.⁸² The Unyoro, the Basukuma, and the Alulu wrap the skin of an ox about their ruler's corpse, and eat its flesh when they have finished mourning.⁸³ The Arabs sacrifice a buffalo,⁸⁴ the Senga kill a sheep.⁸⁵ The chief is here the proxy of the tribe. If he rises from the dead, so will his followers, and the seeds they bury in sowing will likewise live again. It is representative government applied to the hereafter.

There were then two lawful occasions for killing and eating the totem, in the springtime festival, to obtain children and food, and at the death of a member of the clan, to bring about his resurrection. In Africa, the second ceremony eventually displaced the first, so that totemism gradually evolved into the worship of the dead.

In northern Australia things went differently. There, too, the funerary ceremonies took the ascendancy, and there was feasting at the grave. But the meat was furnished by the totem-man, not the totem-animal. Among the Bibinga and Mara the dead are eaten by specified relatives, who thereafter piously collect the bones and wrap them in paper bark. The bundle is placed in the fork of an upright stick, fixed in the center of a level space, and surrounded by a parapet of sand in which one breach is left. Beside the dismembered skeleton, in

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its new covering, the mourners kindle a fire, believing the ghost will come and hover there. The father now takes an arm-bone, paints it with red ochre, and encloses it in fur-string smeared with pipe-clay. This talisman is utilized to summon the funeral guests. It corresponds to the special *churinga* in use among the Arunta and known as 'the dead man's hand.' It beckons and must be followed. When the assembly has been completed, the son of the mother's brother of the deceased produces a hollow log on which has been painted the figure of the totem. In this the bones are placed and the widows lament above it, gashing themselves till it is red with blood. After oblations of food, the log is hung above a lily-pool, into which the bones at last descend when their coffin has rotted away.⁸⁶

In Central Australia itself, the Gnanji, a northern tribe, are suspected of this sort of cannibalism. They whiten the bones on a platform in a tree, and use the same method as the Bibinga in summoning the mourners. The last remains of the dead man are wrapped in paper bark and interred near a water-hole. They are supposed to be magically effective in causing the growth of lilies.⁸⁷ As in the North, the roots of lilies form the staple article of diet, so that the burial rite provides the tribe with food.

The mortuary eating of the dead is good, clean cannibalism. Its object is to take back into the tribe the body of the dead man. The Warramunga try to accomplish this by a practice infinitely more revolting. The corpse is placed in a tree and beneath it sits the bereaved mother. She allows the products of decay to drip on her naked flesh, and dutifully rubs them in.⁸⁸ Thus, what the totem gave the totem receives again, and death does not diminish the physical substance of the totemic clan. What to us appear atrocious barbarism, to them is merely patriotic duty.

The treatment of the dead man's skeleton has the same end in view. And here again the Warramunga customs are most informative. For a year the corpse is left in the tree with the ghost on guard above it, watching to see that his women perform the proper rites. It can be heard at times making a

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whistling sound. Then the dead man's brother approaches respectfully and asks if the mourning has been long enough. If the answer is 'yes,' the bones, which must not be touched, are raked down onto the ground. The arm-bone, which has become the spirit's dwelling, is adorned with fur-string, feathers, and paper bark, while the skeleton's less important portions are buried in an anthill. Next day this final refuge of the ghost is carried to the camp and laid on the knees of the oldest patriarch at whose feet is placed an offering of meat. At this the women break out into frantic wailing which increases as the tribal-mother takes up the magic packet and hides it in the boughs that roof her hut. There it remains for the ensuing fortnight while the clan performs totemic ceremonies. On the final day they trace on the earth a picture of the totem. Near this a pit is dug with an adjacent trench, which is straddled by the clansmen, on whose bodies is painted the totemic sign. The women, brilliant with red ochre set off by yellow stripes, crawl down the trench beneath this male arcade. The last one bears the talismanic bone. It is snatched from her hands as she completes her course, and placed before the tribal father, who holds an uplifted axe. With this he smashes the relic of his son, placing its fragments in a pit, and sealing it with a stone. At the blow the women shriek and take to flight. The father remains for some time beside the pit, and mutely bids the ghost a last farewell.⁸⁹

The shattered arm-bone thus interred beside the pictured totem corresponds to the totem-animal slaughtered by African tribes in their funeral ceremonies, and also to the chaplet of bones and fur and feathers which the Arunta tear to pieces and bury in the grave. The object in all these cases is to get rid of the ghost which might endanger the living, and to speed it towards a second incarnation by turning it into a totem-animal. The Bibinga and Mara dismembered the man himself, and ate his totemic flesh, entrusting the bones and spirit to the totem by marking their casket with its sign. The Arunta, debarred by their taboos from killing or consuming the sacred beast, except in the springtime rite, the *Intichiuma*, tore to

pieces a simulacrum of the totem, which was also the halfway house of the dead man's soul, and feasted on viands otherwise provided. In a mystic sense what they tore and what they ate was the body of the totem. The Africans replaced the *Intichiuma* by a sacrifice at the grave, in which they carved and ate the totem-animal, sometimes wrapping the human corpse in its hide. Thus they hoped to make the dead man rise again, and also to obtain a plentiful harvest.

To the savage these three rituals were not dissimilar. A kangaroo-man of the Arunta, on seeing his photograph, said that it was the same thing as himself and that so was a kangaroo.⁹⁰ For magical purposes it made no difference whether the thing dismembered were a totem-animal, a totem-image, or a totem-man. The rite was the killing and eating of the totem that it and the tribe might live and multiply.

The change of the totem-animal into a god in human form was brought about, in part, by agriculture. The clan which cultivated its totemic plant and thus started a plantation was imitated by others who merely wanted food. The farmer, who replaced the hunter, was himself less like a beast and got his sustenance from his furrows instead of from the forest. He worshiped the things on which his bread depended, not the seed alone, but also the soil, the storm-clouds and the sun. As he knew no gods except his totems, he naturally assumed that the totem-beast dispensed the rain and sunshine. It became not only the ruler of the dead and the bestower of increase, but also the lord of the elements, and especially of fire and water. This transformed it from an ordinary creature, a brother of the clansman, to a supernatural monster before whom men bowed down, not yet a god but still a super-beast.

For example, the kangaroo clan of the Arunta believed that the bringer of flame was a giant kangaroo. One of them saw that this animal each night lighted a campfire by its sleeping-place. He followed it, vainly attempting all the time to strike a spark by the friction of two *churinga*. Disgusted with his failure, he lifted one of them and knocked his successful rival on the head, afterwards roasting the beast with the fires still

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held within it, and eating every morsel of its body that he might absorb its *mana*. In this he was successful, for, when the fire went out, he tried to make it again, at the same time singing a magic chant that suddenly came to him. This time a spark flew out, and ever afterwards, by following that formula, he was able to kindle fire.⁹¹

According to this same clan, the kangaroo was once the wielder of the lightning and the sender of the rain, though they declared this happened long ago.⁹² Yet the rumble of the bull-roarer, which sounds like distant thunder, is believed by all the uninitiated to be the voice of the totem.

Another legend credits the causing of rain to the black cockatoo, and hence the sorcerers who wish to end a drought are advised to put its feathers in their hair.⁹³

Such creatures, in spite of their curious attributes, are recognizable as beasts or birds. But one of the totems of the Warramunga has become a water-spirit, and resembles none of the fauna of Australia. It is the Wollunqua, a snake so huge that its head would reach the sky. It mated with a man who had emerged from its body. When it wished to set out on its wanderings its husband tried to restrain it, and struck it with a stick. The Wollunqua coiled about him, reared to its full height, and, diving downwards, plunged into the earth, bearing the man with it. Later the two came back from the Underworld, and at present they make their home in a pool at the foot of a waterfall. Their descent and resurrection are represented in the totemic ceremonies.⁹⁴ A similar scene appears in a paleolithic carving from the rock-shelter of La Madeleine, which portrays a man with two sticks facing a monstrous serpent.⁹⁵ It shows that the cave-man, like the Warramunga, had reached this second stage, and worshiped a super-beast.

Thus the peaceful cultivation of the fields had a great effect on totemism. And so did the arts of war. There is nothing like a common creed to unify savages. Through this tie the men of a clan were a mystic brotherhood, but no such emotional appeal existed to bind the clans together. A complete amalgamation could only be obtained by the worship of many

beasts or of a single composite animal which might serve for all the clans. Tribes with two or more totems are common in Africa.⁹⁶ And in France a synthesis is represented in the so-called 'Sorcerer' of the cavern of Trois Frères. It has a reindeer's horns, a bison's face, a lion's forepaws, a horse's body and tail, and the hind legs of a man. It dominates separate paintings of the reindeer, the bison, the lion, and the horse.⁹⁷ It is the only relic now extant in Europe of the tribal totemic beast, the predecessor of the tribal god.

In the fairy tales a beast becomes a man through being decapitated. It was a somewhat different operation which wrought a similar miracle for the totem, for the change which made a human god of him was the savage's belated discovery of the cause of generation. When at last it dawned upon him that babies were produced by sexual intercourse, and were not brought by a stork or any non-human beast or plant, the day of the totem was over. He became the attendant animal of a human deity, whose originally bestial nature appeared in cult and myth, but was always kept discreetly in the background. And since the totem in this new disguise was still the representative of the tribe, its supernatural self, the tribal chief became the earthly form of this new ruler of their destinies. It was he who now was sacrificed by proxy, at the springtime festival, and whose resurrection was sought by magic rites performed beside his grave. The cults remained as before, but the one whom they concerned was not a sacred beast but a sacred king.

Thus the old democracy of animal creation gave way to an oligarchy of anthropomorphic gods, and the former rulers of the Otherworld became the slaves of man. Science asserts today that they are alien robots, incapable of reason, and quite devoid of souls. We are the chosen species for whom the world was made, and if there is any existence after death, it is reserved for us alone. Yet the debt we owe to these cast-off brothers of ours should keep us from the sin of pride. All of our knowledge and philosophy began with the cult of a totem-animal which was the creed of the cave-man.

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The first stage, then, in the evolution of the idea of god, was the conception of a sacred beast who was essentially human. He represented the totemic clan, past, present, and future. It was to him that all appeals were made for food and children and success in war. He was the source of worldly prosperity. And he ruled the realm of the dead as well as that of the living, assembling somewhere on earth the departed spirits of those who were replicas of himself, despite their different shape, and frustrating the evil designs of ghosts as well as of wizards. Yet he was as much a servant as a master, since, in a springtime ceremony, he annually perished so that his brothers, by eating his body, might absorb his magic powers, and that he himself, by being born again, might renew the force of creation. This was the earliest cult, and its introduction laid the foundation of that rainbow bridge which led to the Elysian fields. The sky-god was still to come, but the totem was his prophet.

Chapter II

GODS AND TOTEMS

Heartily know,
When half-gods go,
The gods arrive.

EMERSON

ONE of the strangest illusions of mankind is the dream of a golden age of health and harmony, a time when ignorance was bliss, and desires were unrepressed, so that even the subconsciousness was pure. Communism, in that happy time, had not gone Bolshevik, and the blessings of life were equally divided without the need of propaganda. Food fell from heaven, and no one ever worked, except for the fun of the thing. The qualities most highly prized were truth and order and beauty. Youth, strength, and energy were everlasting and death was still unknown. And man united with the morning stars to sing the glory of creation.

In tracing back the history of life we find no vestige of that lost paradise. Humanity is the heir of all the disabilities that afflict the animal world. Only the single nucleated cell can conquer natural death by uniting with its neighbor, and the life of the protozoa can hardly be called idyllic. Indeed, it was their unfitness to survive in the struggle for existence that became the basic cause of evolution. All higher creatures suffer from the infirmities of the flesh, and can only live and love by ceaseless combat. And man not only has failed to free himself from the many handicaps of the lower organisms, but has added thereto a plague they do not know. He has further complicated his existence by adopting a standard of ethics and swaddling his newborn soul in the nets of right and wrong.

For the early progress of man the idea of a rigid code, inflexions of which would be ruthlessly revenged, was highly

beneficial. Had he not been superstitious he would never have learned to reason. Since he believed that he was surrounded by supernatural forces which controlled his destiny, his one means of salvation was a confidence in magic. By obeying the will of the gods, as revealed in oracles, and offering the sacrifices demanded by the priests, he was persuaded that what he did would prosper, and thus had courage to progress. Lacking that assurance, he would not have dared to do constructive things. And if disaster overwhelmed him in spite of his precautions, he did not attribute it to malignant fate, but to some offense committed by himself, by his people, or by his ancestors, for which he was rightly punished. Piety brought success, and hence impiety must bring ruin. A god who did not exact his pound of flesh, according to the bond, would have struck away his worshiper's one support, and left him a prey to panic fears, no better than a beast.

Hence the republic of the just was not a sentimental fancy. When, with increased security, man learned to be logical, and attempted to explain his far from ideal condition, he was faced with this dilemma. God, being perfectly righteous, would not create evil. Yet evil undoubtedly existed. Why should this be? Under the circumstances there could be but one conclusion. The unsatisfactory state of the human race had been due to its own dereliction. Wickedness was not a part of the original scheme. Man had been given an excellent start in the best of all possible worlds, but he had thrown away his chances. Some unforeseen flaw in his character had made him yield to temptation. Eve had listened to the Serpent, the Titans had taken Hera's bribe, or the inquisitive Epimetheus had opened Pandora's box. We are expiating our ancestors' offenses. All the miseries of humanity are due to original sin.

The golden age has gone the way of myths whose premises are no longer tenable, and some suspect today that our predicament is less the result of Adam's aberration than of the competitive spirit which animals share with man. But the sense of sin is man's peculiar gift. He is also alone in believing in atonement, and in a power that makes for righteousness op-

posed by one that produces evil, a beneficent god circumventing a vicious devil. It is commonly assumed that our morality is due to the commandments of the former. In his wisdom, he imposed taboos on man, as Jehovah did on the first of the human race. Those who observed them are received at death into a realm of sublimated pleasure, an exalted form of that first paradise where man abode before he fell from grace. There in the peace that passeth all understanding they indulge in endless adulation of God. Those who are guilty of slight transgressions may also enter there when their souls have been purified by intensive torture. But the hardened and habitual offenders are assigned to the Devil and go down to Hell, where they are racked and torn and burned for all eternity, thus proving that virtue pays. The avoidance of sin, according to this creed, is the whole duty of man.

The savage also was obsessed by sin. Taboos encircled him on every side. But his religion was designed to help him in this life, not in a future one. He did not believe in 'the glowing isles of the just.' His funeral ceremonies were designed to speed the departed soul towards another incarnation in the world which it had left, and by his other pagan rites he sought victory in war, and in peace the fertility of his fields and flocks and wives. Moreover, he was concerned with the interests of the group, to which the personal element was wholly subordinate, as is the case among the ants and bees. The good of the clan or tribe was all that was considered. A conflict of loyalties simply could not happen. Thus in his cults, as in his daily life, the aims of primitive man were material and social, while those of his civilized descendants are spiritual in worship, material in business, and individual in everything.

Changes like these are never sudden shifts, but the product of a slow development induced by inventions and environment through which the mystic perceives the guiding hand of God. They are chronicled by the changing cults of man as the history of biologic growth is written in the record of the rocks. And just as the salient transitions in the rise of vertebrated creatures were the replacement of fish by reptiles, and that of reptiles by

mammals, so in the annals of human thought the two great forward steps were the incorporation in the totem of those supernatural forces which animals blindly fear, and the replacement of the totem by a god in human form.

It was twenty thousand years ago, by the shortest calculation, that the cave-man inscribed his totemistic creed in the caves of southern Europe. The anthropomorphic god does not come upon the scene until the fourth millennium before the Christian era, when he appears almost simultaneously in Mesopotamia and in Africa. The latest researches appear to indicate that his oldest cult was in Sumer, not in Egypt, though scholars are still divided on this point.² In both these countries, however, the course of development was the same. The cult of the totem had been superseded by the worship of a god of resurrection, who was sacrificed in a yearly ceremony. And alike beside the Euphrates and the Nile we can trace the causes and effects of this vital substitution, in spite of the intervening flood of years and the æsthetic gap that divides the city-dweller, with his arts and his industries, from the hunter of the caverns. The stately temple services disguise a troglodytic rite and the human face of the sculptured god is the mask of a sacred beast.

Berosus, a priest of Babylonian Bel in the third century B.C., has recorded the traditions of his time regarding the coming of the Sumerians. In spite of the grotesqueness of the tale, there may be truth in it. He declares that they emerged from the Persian Gulf led by a sacred fish, and settled in southern Mesopotamia. They brought with them a complete civilization, including agriculture, the art of smelting ore, and the earliest written language. And, in conclusion, he says that since their time nothing had been invented.³

If one may judge from their physical type, these new arrivals in Asia Minor belonged to the Nordic race or to the Arab sub-race of the Mediterraneans, and were akin to the predynastic inhabitants of Egypt,⁴ though it was not from Egypt that they came. The ancient Sumerian face can be traced through Afghanistan and Beluchistan to the valley of the Indus.⁴ On the banks of that river, at Harappa and at Mohenjo-

dara, recent excavations have revealed an ancient civilization.⁵ The unknown people who founded these Indian cities tilled and sowed the fields and were owners of flocks and herds. The building construction and ground-plans of their houses, the forms of their seals and of their copper weapons, the subjects and execution of their engravings and terra-cotta figurines, and the pictographic script which they employed are strikingly similar to what we find in the oldest Sumerian remains at Ur⁶ which have been roughly dated at 3500 B.C.⁷ If the Sumerians arrived by way of the Persian Gulf, as Berossus says, and as their situation appears to indicate, they must have set out from the mouth of the Indus, the nearest Indian port.⁸

But India was not their starting-point, as is abundantly proved by their early art and architecture, and, above all, by their script. Their gods are constantly depicted standing on mountain-tops. Their earliest dwellings, although of brick, were built like wooden houses such as would naturally be constructed by a people living on heavily timbered uplands.⁹ And they spoke and wrote a language which became inflectional but was originally agglutinative.¹⁰ In its advanced stage it was like Sanskrit and in its primitive one it was like ancient Turkish, or Turanian. In both languages there are many Sumerian loan-words.¹¹ The agglutinative languages began in the Ural-Altai Mountains,¹² the boundary between the continents of Europe and Asia. Sumerian is based on bi-literal roots consisting originally of a consonant and a vowel,¹³ and was at first recorded in a pictographic script, some of the signs of which are identical, in meaning as well as in form, with the *ku wen* characters, the oldest Chinese writing.¹⁴ This was likewise monosyllabic.¹⁵ Primitive Sumerian is also like Chinese in having the most rudimentary syntax, so that one character may serve as a noun, an adjective, a verb, an adverb, or a preposition.¹⁶ And originally it was written in parallel columns reading from top to bottom, and from right to left, as Chinese is today. Soon after their arrival in Mesopotamia the scribes discovered that they could work with greater ease by tipping their clay tablets on end, so that the original ideograms were turned over on their

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backs. In consequence their documents were thereafter read from left to right, like all the languages of Europe.¹⁷ Thus Sumerian constitutes a link between the East and the West, and the race who spoke it probably originated in the mountains between India and China.

A further hint both as to their birthplace and as to their influence on Europe is afforded by the islands of the Pacific. Just as the totemism of the Arunta clears up the customs and racial origin of the cave-men of France and Spain, so a later race of emigrants to Australia affords a little light on the bearers of this new religion, the worship of a god. The aborigines of Australia, like the Negritos who preceded them and the Papuans who followed later, were black and had excessively lengthy heads.¹⁸ After them came the first whites, when the land bridge had subsided but before the end of the Stone Age. Like the Sumerians, they were long-headed but not immoderately so. Their descendants might easily pass for Europeans. And like the Sumerians they were mariners, since they crossed the seas from Asia.¹⁹ Like them, too, they spoke a monosyllabic language.²⁰ It was related to that of the Khmers who in very ancient times descended into Siam and Cambodia from the mountains north of India,²¹ the probable homeland of the Sumerians.²² The mysterious white invaders of Australia supported themselves by agriculture and lived in pile-villages, like those in the Swiss and Italian lakes, where we find the earliest sign of civilization, higher than that of the cave-men.²³ Chinese Turkestan, where the Khmers may once have lived, was inhabited, in the seventh century A.D., by a people who spoke Tocharian, an Indo-European language.²⁴ Thus this evidence supports the contentions of those bold philologists who claim that Sumerian is the oldest form of Indo-European.²⁵

That the Sumerians were the true originators of this novelty in worship, and did not merely borrow it from their neighbors, is borne witness to by the Chinese and also by the Hindûs. The former declare that the home of the gods was on Mount Sumeru (Hsu-Mi Shan), the tallest mountain of the Hindu Kush. It stood in the middle of the universe. At its summit

was the fountain of immortality whence flowed the four great rivers of the world, presided over by the Four Kings of Heaven. The mountain was three thousand miles in height according to conservative chroniclers, while those who let themselves go put the figure at a million. On the east it was of gold, on the west of silver, on the southeast of crystal, and on the northeast of agate.²⁶ The Hindus had a similar tradition in regard to Mount Sumeru or Mount Meru. It was the Olympus of Hindu mythology, and was placed at the exact center of the central continent which they identified with India. All the planets revolved about it. The river Ganges descended on its peak and was thus divided into four separate streams. The lords of the four points of the compass resided on its corresponding slopes, which were of gold and gems, and the abode of Brahmā where all the gods assembled was the crest where its slopes united. Sumeru or Meru was also sometimes used to apply to the highland of Tartary, north of the Himalayas.²⁷ Sumer, the name which the Semites gave to southern Mesopotamia, means 'The Home of MER,' that is, the home of Ninurta, the lightning-god who made the fields fertile. KI-EN-GI, which was what the Sumerians called it, has much the same sense.²⁸ They came from the home of the gods and gave their cult to the Hindus and the Chinese. Nor were these the only beneficiaries, for the new religion spread, displacing totemism in every civilized land.

The result of the new dispensation is clearly marked in the funeral rites of Sumer. The ordinary citizen was laid to rest in a coffin which was buried at the foot of a shallow shaft, along with his more personal possessions and certain simple offerings. But the kings were treated in a different manner. For these the excavations were much deeper and the bodies were placed in chambers of masonry, with hoards of copper and gold and silver and lapis-lazuli. Nor were they accompanied to the other world by merely inanimate treasures. Their steeds and grooms attended them, and the ladies of their court, in ceremonial dress. There were dead harpers to entertain them, and bodyguards with copper spears and helmets protected them in death as they had in life. For the kings were sacred priests, and more

than priests. They were the human representatives of the city-deity who had replaced the tribal god, divine monarchs in every sense of the word. At death they were wholly identified with that guardian of the state, and it was fitting that in their sepulchers they should be served like gods.²⁹

Thus the belief that the soul came back again, to live in the world which it formerly had known, no longer was accepted. The dead man could not return to his possessions, so they were placed in the tomb beside his body, together with food and drink, since his physical needs were never at an end. These offerings were in part a pious tribute, in part a protective magic, for without them the hungry spirit might have attacked the living.³⁰ But whether the soul was supposed to stay in the grave, or to join the city-god, as the savage sought the camping-ground of the totem, we do not definitely know. It was not a matter to which the Sumerians gave any particular thought, except in the case of kings, whose spirits followed the old totemic fashion, and united with the deity, taking with them the other occupants of their tombs. They held their court again beyond the grave, and their satisfied spirits would grant prosperity to the people they had ruled.

And if the kings were gods, it was no less true that the gods were also kings. Indeed they were the true rulers. The human monarchs were but deputies of these stronger embodiments of the Church and State, whose palaces were close to their worshippers, and who shared their joys and sorrows. They received their daily food and beer and wine in sacrifices of which the priests partook, they marched to war at the head of the civic army, and were carried into captivity if their followers were defeated. Each of them had his own domestic circle consisting not merely of priests and priestesses, but of a favorite wife, and secondary wives, and concubines of various degrees. The woman who represented his sacred mate was often a king's daughter. She was guarded by strict taboos. Indeed she was burned to death if she demeaned herself by so slight an offense as entering a wineshop. But the secondary wives had greater liberties. They could engage in trade, and were even free to

marry human husbands, though not to lie with them. The fruit of their wombs was attributed to the god. Below them came the temple harlots who could wed like other women, and lowest of all the professional prostitutes. All these were housed in the temple, or in buildings near at hand.³² And if the custom of Babylon described by Herodotus already existed in the earlier times, as seems most probable, the hareem of the god was not restricted to his official brides and concubines. At the temple of Ishtar each woman of that proud city was forced to sacrifice her virginity to a stranger.³² This was a Sacred Marriage, although the adjective may seem strange in this connection. The woman equated herself with Ishtar and the stranger played the rôle of that excessively human deity who was the universal bridegroom.

These erotic functions of the god were later transferred to the king and, as the *droit de seigneur*, survived almost to modern times. The sacred or demon bridegroom of so many popular tales, and the mystic union of nuns with the Lamb of God, are offshoots from the same primordial root, which goes back to the totemism of paleolithic times. When the theory that the totem entered into a woman, and was the only cause of pregnancy, had been definitely disproved, the sacred beast was still regarded as the source of all conception. In Dahomey women who wish for offspring are wedded to the sacred python, but it is a priest who consummates the union.³³ And when the totem was transformed to an anthropomorphic god he fell heir to this tradition. Among the Akamba, a Bantu tribe who live in East Africa, each woman is believed to have two husbands, one of the flesh, the other of the spirit. The latter is the soul of her ancestors, and it is to his embraces that she owes the continuance of the line. If she is barren, a sacrifice is performed to recall the ghostly begetter to his duty.³⁴ Thus the sensuality of the Sumerian god was the natural effect of humanizing the totem, who was the only power that could implant the seed of fertility.

A second result of the preceding system was the multiplication of gods. Just as each clan in the tribe once had its totem,

so each city in Sumer had its local Ba'al. But another basic cause of polytheism was the increasing importance of individual ability. The totem was the representative of a clan that remained static. It had no personality of its own, merely the traits of its species on which its worshipers had superposed the qualities that were common to them all. But by 3500 B.C. the force of specialization was making tremendous headway. The king was chosen for his skill in war in some communities, and each craft won its recruits from those who had a natural aptitude for their particular task. The gods, who had assumed the guise of men, were constrained by the same necessity. Thus the supernatural creative strength was split into many parts, which were really aspects of a single being. As controller of the course of the sun, this spirit was given a certain appellative, while another qualified him as the ruler of the lightning, a third as the lord of fire, a fourth as he who made bright the moon. And with the continuance of the humanizing tendency, the function obtained a personality. We think of the name as if it referred to a single concrete being like John Doe or Richard Roe, and the mythologists speak of his adventures, his mistresses, and his children, and end by persuading themselves that he actually existed. But as far as man was concerned, the pagan gods could go by any names so long as they gave prosperity in this life and the next. However they were invoked, and whatever tales were told about them, they were all like the slaves of Aladdin's lamp, immortal powers who must be compelled to satisfy human needs by rituals which were incantations.

The spell itself had not changed essentially, though the new form of the Life Force necessitated certain additions and adaptations. The totem was killed in an annual ceremony, and its body was portioned out among the clan with which it was identified. In the same way the god was sacrificed in his yearly festival, sometimes in human form but more usually incarnated in a beast which was devoured by his worshipers. In both cults the communal meal established a closer bond between the initiates and their sacred lord, so that the slayers

and the slain were one; in both it was believed that the victim would be reborn; and in both the lament above him, and his funeral ceremonies, were magic rites to speed that consummation. But since the god was a more majestic figure than the totem-animal, his murder was more momentous, and had to be handled with tact, so that no blame should accrue to priests or people. It was attributed to some mysterious foe. The eating of his corpse was similarly glozed over. Thus the slaughter of a sacred animal and the feast upon its flesh became the annual death and resurrection of the god of fertility.

A more important innovation was due, like sacred prostitution, to the eventual discovery of the causes of reproduction. As the totem was male and female, so also was the god, but while with the former this fact was irrelevant and did not affect the cult, in the case of the latter its significance assumed immense proportions. Only the sacrifice was necessary to cause the reincarnation of the totem. But the human shape of the god, in an age of sophistication, entailed a human destiny. He could only live again by uniting with a goddess and begetting a second version of himself. The marriage and the funeral of the god were solemnized as part of a single rite, and he became a dual deity made up of the male and female principles. Their union was quite as important as the subsequent sacrifice, since, if it were lacking, rebirth could not take place. Thus the totem in his later form became a triune god consisting of Father, Mother, and Son.

But the god was more than a deified king, or a deified royal family, just as the totem was more than a sacred beast. Like his predecessor he was equated with fire, and water and seed. The sign which means 'water' in Sumerian, also signifies 'seed,'³⁵ however, and hence this element was identified with the eternal feminine, while its antithesis, fire, became the sign of the immemorial male.³⁶ Hence the Sacred Marriage of the skies was the union of the moon, that aqueous planet, with its igneous opposite, the sun. And when that enclosure of water, or seed, the cloud, was split by the rays of the sun, or by the flash of lightning, it was interpreted as a sexual consummation.

This was also true of the sinking of the sun into that house of water or seed, the sea, and of the piercing of the earth, the container of every seed, by the flaming thunderbolt. Therefore, the death and resurrection of the god became associated with the daily setting and rising of the sun, the monthly renewal of the moon after three days of darkness, and the yearly return of the thunder-showers of spring which quickened vegetation. And over all these things the rite had power, by the force of sympathetic magic.

The nuptial strife of the elements, controlled by sorcery, forms the background of the worship of the metals and of the earliest weapons forged from them, through which the Sumerians made themselves the dominant power in southwestern Asia. Gold and copper have been symbols of the sun, and silver an emblem of the moon from the days of the earliest ingots. If we may trust linguistic evidence, the introducers of smelting regarded all three of them as solid forms of light or fire, the earthly manifestations of celestial luminaries.³⁷ The Egyptians, who gained a knowledge of copper in predynastic times, used their word for the Asiatic variety as one of the titles of Set, the god who dismembered Osiris,³⁸ and Horus, the deity of the rising sun, was also the lord of the smiths.³⁹ The Sumerian determinative prefixed to divine names may mean 'maker of the thunderbolt,' which was equivalent to 'smith,' since the same term meant 'lightning' and 'dart' or 'spear.'⁴⁰ It was doubtless due to Sumerian influence that the Hittites worshiped a dirk with a human head for pommel, a haft composed of four lions, and a blade embedded deep in the soil.⁴¹ It represented the union of Sky and Earth, like the more conventional form of the Sacred Marriage depicted in the carvings at Boghaz-Keui.⁴² The symbol was known to other northern peoples who crossed the Caucasus and occupied Asia Minor. The Scythians offered annual sacrifices to an iron scimitar.⁴³ An analogous cult once flourished among the Greeks, for Kainêus stuck a javelin in the earth, commanding that it should be given divine honors.⁴⁴ The spear from which the Dorians got their name⁴⁵ was doubtless a similar weapon-deity. The Per-

sians are said to have been so called because of the axes they carried,⁴⁶ but it is much more probable that the axe was an emblem of the god of fire who ruled their pantheon, and was regarded as their begetter. The Sumerians looked upon the axe as the symbol of the king and of the god of increase with whom the king was closely identified.⁴⁷ Their word for 'bow' had a similar connotation, for its literal sense was 'the curve of the sky,'⁴⁸ so that it signified the heavenly archer whose shafts were rays or thunderbolts. The Bandili, whom we call the Vandals, have a Sumerian name which means 'The Male Bow.'⁴⁹ The Lybians, who got their cults from Sumer, called their tribes Bows, and adored a divine hermaphrodite whose emblem was a double bow.⁵⁰ Thus the weapon-cult arose from metallurgy, which the Sumerians brought to Mesopotamia. As in the case of agriculture, it introduced new symbols and widened religion's scope, so that the lord of hunters and of peasants became the lord of hosts. But his essential rite remained unchanged. He was still the god who died and rose again, the god who, in the beginning, was a totem.

The cult of all the totems was the same, but they were distinguished by their outer forms. When they evolved into anthropomorphic gods, there was no way to tell them apart except through the labels affixed by their priests or peoples. These were themselves a trifle imprecise, though the Sumerians used a double system. The names of the ancient gods were represented by signs which became the oldest numerals. We have lucky numbers today because the numbers were once the gods of luck. One might have thought that this tagging of the immortals would have cleared away all ambiguity, but it did not work as well with a pantheon as it does with a football team, since, by association of ideas, one number was often applied to several gods, and many of the gods had several numbers. A further complication was the fact that the distinction between tens and units was not original. Hence the unit, or ten, was the goddess Ishtar, the deity of the ocean and the earth. Since Earth was the bride of Sky, it was also applied to Antu, the spouse of the lord of heaven. But the fertility god was really

dual, so that Ishtar was thought of both as male and female. Therefore the numeral one or ten also denoted the husband of the earth and so was applied, not only to Anu, who ruled the firmament, but to the divergent aspects of this god, Ramman, the storm, and Shamash, the sun.⁵¹ But since the sun was daily sacrificed as he sank in the crimson west, and daily rose again in the ruddy glow of dawn, he was regarded as having two incarnations, Barun or Varun while in the Underworld,⁵² and Mitra when he rose.⁵³ He therefore received the number two or twenty, or rather possessed it from the beginning, since the name Shamash means 'The Double God.' The dual corner-wedge which denoted him may have also had the value Sin or Shin, the name of that second sun, the moon, which also vanished and reappeared.⁵⁴ The new crescent was Nannar,⁵⁵ but by what appellation the darkened moon was known we cannot tell. Yet the ordinary number of the moon was not two or twenty, but three or thirty,⁵⁶ since the length of the lunar month was thirty days. This figure also represented the sum of Ishtar (10) and of Shamash (20), so that these deities made the minor triad. Thus Ishtar became the goddess of the moon and Sin was a hermaphrodite, a symbol of the Sacred Marriage of the two lights of heaven. Four, or forty, stood for the four quarters of the earth, or of the sky, and for the four great rivers of the world. Hence it represented Ea, the god of streams, and Antu, the deified form of the waters above the firmament,⁵⁷ a specialized form of Ishtar. Five represented the fingers of the hand and the Five Elements, and therefore five or fifty became the number of Bel, who shaped the universe. His more ancient name was Enlil ('God of the Wind'). But since in other versions of the myth the Creator was known as Ea, this numeral was also applied to him.⁵⁸ Six or sixty was Anu, the god of heaven. It is the sum of Shamash (20) and Ea (40), and so typifies the union of fire and water, the male and female elements. Thus Anu, like Sin, was a triad, three deities in one. Six or sixty was also at times applied to Ea.⁵⁹ The official roster of gods does not continue higher, since sixty was the standard of measurement. But the other numbers were similarly formed,

as is clearly shown by their names. Seven or seventy was Bel plus Shamash,⁶⁰ eight or eighty, Bel plus Sin, ⁶¹ nine or ninety Bel plus Ea.⁶² A hundred is probably the double of Bel (50), since its sign is the phallic symbol written twice, and it also had the meanings 'male' and 'priest.'⁶³ Thus by a quirk of the Sumerian brain, mathematics, that epitome of logic, originated in the mystic cult of the god of reproduction and resurrection.

Another way of preparing the Who's Who of the immortals was by means of the ancient totems which survived as their sacred beasts. But again the association of ideas played havoc with the scheme. Thus the snake, which sinks in a torpor every year, then sheds its skin and comes forth with brighter scales, and which vanishes down its hole as a man goes into the grave, but emerges again into the light of day, was an appropriate emblem for a god who died and rose again. The serpent is also equated with the phallus, as all psychologists know, and likewise with the lightning, which writhes across the sky, and with water, since it often lives in streams, as though it were the genius of the flood. And, like a god, it deals out sudden death. Hence all Sumerian divinities, despite their human form, were sometimes metamorphosed into snakes both in metaphor and in cult. The tawny lion who suggested flame was made the symbol of every source of fire from the sun to the volcanic depths, and thus became the attendant animal both of Shamash and of Ishtar.⁶⁴ Since the Sumerian word for lion is simply 'Mighty Hound,'⁶⁵ those other renders of flesh, the dog, and his relative, the wolf, played the rôle of their nobler kinsman. The bull, whose bellow is like the thunder or the crashing of the waves, whose horns can pierce like lightning, and whose prowess in begetting is a byword, became the natural embodiment of Anu and of Enlil. The particular beast of Ea was the goat, inveterate in strife and lechery, but he was a fish as well, that denizen of the deep so swift in spawning. Kingu, the spouse of Tiamat, the mother of all life, was sacrificed in the semblance of a ram, maker of many sheep, while Tammuz, another name for that deity, Sin, his lunar

avatar, and Bel, the god of the atmosphere, took the form of the tusky boar, so great a glutton for fight and generation. Ishtar combined the serpent and the dove, that most prolific bird. Shamash, who coursed across the sky, was likewise dowered with wings and assumed the shape of an eagle or a hawk, as did the deities of the wind and of the storm. The sun was also looked on as a steed, at first the ass and latterly the horse, which was introduced into Mesopotamia about 2000 B.C.⁶⁶ But all these animal exteriors were merely used as kennings to describe the unseen force that swayed the lives of men. They did not constitute hard-and-fast distinctions. Indeed they could not, for this Protean god, under all his appellatives, was everywhere the same.

This is clearly brought out by the Sumerian myths whose endless elaborations are based on a single theme. Its simplest form is given by Berossus. He declares that Bel, his patron deity, beholding the barrenness of the earth, was exceedingly grieved, and resolved to make it fruitful. In order to accomplish this, he cut off his own head. His vital blood gushed out upon the soil, and thus created plants, and animals, and men.⁶⁷ Like the totem he died to give life to humanity, or rather to that part of it which looked to him for help. And his death, which is here assigned to a definite place and time, was repeated every year as a magic rite.

The cult corresponding to this sacred legend endured on the banks of the Euphrates for more than three thousand years. Our account of it dates from Semitic times, when Assyria had inherited the realm and rites of Sumer. By then it had become a pagan passion-play enacted by priests and priestesses, who took the parts of gods. The death of the principal character occurred before the action began, and its manner is only hinted at in the statement that a boar which was sacrificed represented the criminal who had been slain with Bel. Its head was bound to the door of the temple sacred to Beltis, the wife of Bel, who was the heroine of the drama. The priestess who represented her prayed to the moon and the sun for the reanimation of her husband. She went to the temple gate which symbolized his

grave, and mourned above the mime to whom had been assigned the rôle of the sacred corpse, while the rest of the company joined her in lamenting that Bel had been bound and killed and imprisoned in the Underworld. Though the other gods refused to accompany her, she now descended to that dark abode taking with her clothing and sandals to aid in his escape. This devotion roused the divinities of the sky. In a mighty battle they defeated the cohorts of the darkness and burst asunder the sepulcher of Bel, restoring him to life.⁶⁸

The beheaded boar of this rite is the equivalent of the beheaded Bel, who is thus divided into two divine persons, the god who slays and the god who is slain, the victim and the criminal. The sacred suicide of the legend is murder in the cult, and the murder is avenged by sacrifice. Thus the way is paved for the conception of two contending powers who represent Fertility and Dearth, which is the earliest notion of Good and Evil.

Bel is a title meaning 'Lord,' like Adon, the Greek Adonis.⁶⁹ In Sumerian the dying god is most famous as Dumu-Zi, the Tammuz of the Semites. Dumu-Zi signifies 'The Son of Life,'⁷⁰ which in a fertility cult is tantamount to 'The Son of God.' The principal seat of his worship was Eridu, the center of the cults of Sumer, though as Nin-girsu ('Lord of the Flood') he was also the local deity of Lagash,⁷¹ a city almost equal to Eridu in age and sanctity. His festival, in the Sargonic era (about 2800 B.C.), took place in the sixth month, which came at the height of summer when the hot sun had withered vegetation.⁷² No connected account of it exists, though many Sumerian hymns deal with the deity's death and resurrection. The former is a sacred mystery, as in the case of Bel, but Tammuz seems to have died by drowning. There are references to a devil who engulfed him with his boat, to a raging flood that carried him away, and to his lying in the submerged grain. Perhaps the representative of the god was thrown into the Euphrates as a charm to break the drought.⁷³ The immediate effect, however, was just the opposite, for his perishing put an end to fertility, and hence he was universally lamented.⁷⁴ And once

again it was a goddess who saved the situation. Ishtar, like Beltis, went down to the Underworld in search of the god who was her mate, and who also was her son. A watchman at its ominous gate vainly attempted to exclude her. She is shown on a tablet contending with Ereshkigal, queen of the realms of death, in order to free the imprisoned lord of fecundity.⁷⁵ But the hymns say nothing at all of this Amazonian duel. They declare that Ishtar discovered the object of her quest sunk in a sleep so profound that it was almost impossible to wake him. At last she was successful, and so returned in triumph bringing with her the god of the sheaves, and putting an end to blight and dearth and darkness. For the rising god was identified not only with seed and sap, but with the sun and moon, since one of the hymns contains the following lines:

When to the bosom of thy mother, to the bosom of thy beloved thou risest,
When to thy mother, the queen of heaven, thou risest,
O my exalted, who is Shamash? thou art Shamash.
O exalted, who is Nannar? thou art Nannar.⁷⁶

There are two salient features in this early form of the rite, the complicated relationship of the goddess and the god, and the fact that the miracle is solely due to the former. They are the inevitable result of humanizing the totem. A god in human form could only rise from the dead by begetting a son for his second incarnation, just as the totem to win another life had to enter into a womb. Hence Tammuz died as the husband of the Earth, and rose again as her son. The goddess brought about his resurrection by bearing his successor.

The theme of the Sacred Marriage which replenishes the world, combined with that of the duel between identical gods, has its fullest development in the Sumerian story of how the universe was formed. This is a composite tale in which the archaic kernel has been amplified by priests of different periods. It involves almost the entire pantheon. And it corresponds to the important rite of the New Year's festival, intended to promote prosperity and to purge both king and people of their sins.

The Sumero-Babylonian Epic of Creation⁷⁷ begins with the union of Apsū ('The Abyss'), who was the father of all beings,

with Tiamat ('The Life of the Womb of the Mountains'),⁷⁸ who was also known as Mummu.⁷⁹ Apsū was the deity of the streams and springs, while Tiamat ruled the sea. Their waters were merged into a single mass and, in the midst of them, the gods came into being. Laḫmu and Laḫamu were made to shine. Apparently they are the sun and moon. Then there came forth Anshar ('All the Sky')⁸⁰ and Kishar ('All the Earth').⁸¹ Their son was Anu ('Water of the Sky')⁸² whom Anshar made in his own image. And Anu in his turn begat Ea ('House of Water'),⁸³ the image of himself. Then the primal father of the gods grew angry with his offspring who gave him no peace by day, and no rest by night. He felt that they interfered too much with his personal liberty. Tiamat also had no use for the younger generation, and declared in no uncertain terms that children should be abolished. So Apsū decided to simplify life by means of a curse which would clear away these cumberers of heaven. Unfortunately for him, one of his progeny was like the child in the fairy tale who thwarted a similar plot and saved himself and his brothers from being marooned in the forest. This was the clever Ea, who counteracted the spell, and hurled on its maker's head a stronger anathema which completely turned the tables. He loosed the joints of Apsū's steward, Mummu, and dismembered Apsū himself, dividing him into chambers, in one of which he set up housekeeping. It was there that his son was born, the mighty Marduk or Maraduk ('The Male Child of the Sun'),⁸⁴ who was also known as Bel.

But Tiamat was still to be reckoned with. She now produced eleven monsters to help her against the gods, including the unrivaled Weapon and Kingu ('The Ram?'),⁸⁵ her son. With Tiamat herself they represent the signs of the Zodiac. She wedded Kingu, as Ishtar wedded Tammuz, placed on his breast the Tablet of Destinies, and raised him on high so that he took the heavens and was sovereign of the gods, who were bound with evil bonds. Dead Apsū was succeeded by his son, 'the master of the Weapon,' who was the new fertility-god.

The triumph of Tiamat and Kingu was destined to be short-lived. The gods chose Marduk, or Bel, as their avenger, and

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gave him the unrivaled Weapon, apparently the same that Kingu wielded. The champion of the gods set the lightning in front of him, and filled his body with flame, and armed himself with the four winds. Tiamat had two, the whirlwind and the stormwind, so that the armaments of these antagonists were practically identical. Nevertheless the battle was most one-sided. Kingu, at sight of his adversary, took refuge in Tiamat's womb, but Marduk followed him there, whence he received the name of Nibiru ('The Enterer'). In that unusual arena he bound the quailing god, despoiling him of the tablet. Thereafter he split in two the monstrous Tiamat. From her divided body he formed the firmament, and the dry land, and the waters under the earth, assigning them respectively to Anu, Enlil, and Ea. He then arranged the courses of the planets, and the motions of the moon, and fixed in heaven the signs of the zodiac. The stage having thus been set, he struck down Kingu, and with his blood fashioned the first men, whom he immediately instructed in the proper rites of worship. Thereafter the gods prepared a splendid banquet 'for Marduk who is Enlil and Ea' and gave him fifty 'names of power.'⁸⁶

This account is really double. The slaying by Ea of Apsū and Mummu exactly parallels Marduk's destruction of Kingu and Mummu Tiamat. The dividing of Apsū's body into chambers corresponds to the splitting-up of Tiamat into the sky, the earth, and the waters. The engendering of Marduk in the body of the fallen god is repeated in the begetting of man by means of Kingu's blood. And the raising of Kingu to the sovereignty after the death of Apsū is a variant of the exaltation of Marduk, who was Bel, when Kingu had been slain. It is the cycle of the deity who cuts off his own head and thus regenerates that fertility of which he is the apotheosis, who can silently laugh at his own cenotaph and rise to a new existence 'like a god from the womb, like a ghost from the tomb.'

The cult for which this epic was the myth was held in the first half of the month of Nisan, with which the Sumerian year began. After a few preliminary rites, the priest intoned a hymn in honor of Marduk's victory. Two little statuettes were

then constructed, composed of cedar and tamarisk, the two most sacred trees, adorned with gold and precious stones symbolical of light, and clothed with red, which is the thunder color. Their limbs were bound with branches of the date-palm, an emblem of fertility. Each clasped a venomous creature, one a snake, the other a scorpion. These precious simulacra were kept six days in a temple, which served as their bridal chamber. Thereafter they were struck on the head and burned. The Sacred Marriage ended in a mystic sacrifice. And the pair who were thus united in life and death were the male and female forms of fruitfulness, who bore the titles of Marduk and Zarpanit, or Kingu and Tiamat, or Bel and Beltis, or Dumu-Zi and Ishtar. Tiamat was an appellative of Ishtar, who was also called Ishhara, the scorpion-goddess, and her son and lover, Tammuz, was worshiped as a snake.⁸⁷

The burning of the figurines was followed by the offering of a beast, who also was divine. This ceremony began in similar fashion. The whole of the Epic of Creation was solemnly recited before the altars of Marduk and Zarpanit ("Shining One"), and prayers were also addressed to Bel and Beltis, who were invoked with the astral titles of Marduk and his bride. When the deities had been thus appeased, a sheep was sacrificed. The high-priest was forbidden to watch its slaying. Its body and severed head were thrown into the Euphrates except for the portion of the gods, the right leg, kidneys, and roast. These special tidbits were placed in an oven. The brands which were lighted from its fires were called the darts of Bel-Marduk, for, according to the commentary, the slaughtered sheep was Kingu. The sacrificial priests were compelled to flee from the sacred precincts and could not return for eight days.⁸⁸ By the end of that time the god had risen in glory and realized that those who murdered him had been actuated by the highest motives.

Having perished as an image, and as an animal, the deity now was slain in his most exalted form, the victim being no less a personage than the King of Babylon. He was deprived of the symbols of royalty which were laid at the feet of Bel.

Then the high-priest struck the cheek of the humbled monarch, and hauled him into the temple by the ear, forcing him to kneel down before the altar. In this contrite attitude the absolute monarch of the world's most powerful kingdom recited a prayer in which he stressed the righteousness of his reign and protested his unbounded piety. Not wishing to carry the matter to extremes, the high-priest now spoke graciously to the royal penitent, declaring that Bel would bless him, and would increase his dominion. The insignia of rank were restored to him. Then once more the high-priest struck him on the cheek. It was advisable for the king to weep profusely at this point, for this was pleasing to Bel. If the monarch's eyes were dry, he would lose his throne. The priest now made a bundle of forty reeds, bound it with palm branches, like the figurines, and placed it in a trench where the king ignited it. Then a white bull was led to where it blazed, and the priest recited a hymn to the 'Divine Bull of Anu.' At this point there is a break in the inscription, but presumably the bull was sacrificed as a substitute for the king.

The remaining task was to cause the resurrection of this god who had been so thoroughly put to death. Unfortunately the remainder of the inscription is much broken. Bel and Beltis are exhorted to leave their shrine and to go to the house of sacrifice. There is a great assembly of the gods. Then a long gap is followed by a fragment of a hymn bidding the deities return to their respective temples and cities.³⁹ But the cults of Bel and Tammuz show that the gods had gathered in order to release their prototype from the prison of the grave, just as those of Egypt were annually convoked in order to resuscitate Osiris. His death was swallowed up in victory, and the risen lord of increase inaugurated an auspicious year.

Ethics, in primitive communities, is intensely practical. The one rule of right conduct is to violate no taboos, since to do so would bring infallible misfortune on the clan, the tribe, the city. The only righteousness is patriotism, which is not vaunted as a virtue, because it is instinctive, like shielding the eyes against a sudden light. The god, who is the apotheosis of

the collective desire, is the establisher of all taboos, and the monarch is his mouthpiece. Codes arise because they are pleasing to this transcendent power who thus becomes the arbiter of the morality of man. This righteous god, who once had been a totem, was sacrificed once a year in a fertility-rite. Since he was all-powerful, his annual death was at first regarded as due to his own volition. But there must always be one who strikes the blow and another who falls beneath it. Therefore the popular imagination transformed the god who cut off his head into two divine antagonists, one of whom killed the other. At first they were alike in all respects, but inevitably the victim who died and rose from the dead became the incarnation of all beneficence, the hero of the drama of life and death, while his slayer, blackened by every shocking tale of supernatural malice and cruelty, was made the sinister villain of the story of existence. Thus the dualistic system arose, and man received as a heritage from the totem the idea of the principles of good and evil engaged in constant strife and personified as Bel-Marduk and Tiamat, Osiris and Set, Ahura-Mazda and Ahri-man, Indra and Vṛtra, Zeus and Typhon, Odin and Loki, Christ and Satan.

The tale of the fall of man is the most untrue of all preposterous myths. The golden age is in the distant future, not in the prehistoric past. Man's progress has always been upward from the time of his creation, though, as in every process of evolution, the change has been incalculably slow. His god, the vital faith that is in him, has always uplifted him, and given him strength to go on. It has never cast him down because of traits inherited from his bestial ancestors. And the particular power that made him more than a brute was the belief that he could control his fate through the observance of taboos. The magic spell that freed him from the prison-house of instinct, as Ishtar delivered Tammuz from the grave, originated in the sense of sin.

The particular contribution of Sumer to the evolution of paganism was the doing away with the worship of the beast by humanizing the totem, and the broadening of taboos by ex-

tending them from the single clan to the city-state. In achieving this it also introduced the idea of the Sacred Marriage which fructified the earth, and of the annual death and resurrection of the celestial bridegroom and his bride. Under the influence of the yearly rite, an apparent polytheism became transformed into a practical dualism, mainly concerned with the material, but containing ethical implications. And the king who replaced the totem as the quintessence of his people was the earthly form of the god of plenty. There was no division between the Church and the State, nor between the laws of man and those of god. Life after death was transferred to another world, but the punishment for sin took place in this. Tammuz is once invoked as the lord of judgment, and is said to pronounce fates, but these dooms were laid on the living, not on the dead. As under totemism it is only the former who count. The cults of Tammuz and his fellow-gods, who were exactly like him, had for their primary purpose the increase of food and children, and the avoidance of sin was looked on as the secret of earthly prosperity. But *terre à terre* as this religion was, it marked a great advance over the creed of the cave-man. The superstition which led the higher ape from animalism to humanity was slowly yielding to reason, and from the apotheosis of himself man learned at last to follow an ideal.

One indirect result of the new dispensation was the rise of literature. When the Sumerians invented the earliest written language, they used it at first for recording rituals and ritualistic hymns. The latter were gradually expanded in the progress of the centuries into the story of that mighty conflict, between Ea and Apsū and Marduk and Tiamat, which was said to have resulted in the forming of the world, the beginning of organic life, and the creation of man. It is the earliest epic that has survived. A number of other sacred legends were similarly treated, all involving the central mystery of death and resurrection. In some of these the protagonists purport to be heroes, not gods, a phenomenon parallel to what we find in the evolution of Greek tragedy from the cult of Dionysos. The names of the characters, however, were merely appellatives of those divinities whose an-

nual sacrifice was the magic charm through which fertility was supposed to be renewed. Yet as the gods were looked upon as the ancestors of mankind, their stories assumed a tinge of history. Thus the way was prepared for those tales of human beings, in whose affairs the deities intervene, which reach their culmination in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*.

The gods of Sumer, however, were not Olympians. To be sure they were vaguely linked with mountain-tops, and they wielded thunderbolts, guided the sun and the moon, and sent or withheld the rain. For all that they were still but little above their worshipers. The first span of the rainbow bridge had risen towards the sky, but the hosts of Dumu-Zi could carry it no farther. Their only business with heaven was to bring down gifts for man. The temple palaces in the towns where they were worshiped were their official homes. There they ate and drank, begat those children in whom their lives were renewed, and conferred with the king who acted as their vice-regent. Their only other abode was in the depths of the earth, a dark and cheerless region to which they were sent each year by the sacrificial knife, to lie inert till a magic spell brought them back to the light of day. The rest of their time was taken up with administrative problems which left no leisure for journeys towards the clouds. Supermen they might be called, but their problems were human problems, their joys were human joys, and their only virtue was efficiency. They were projections of the city-states, as the totems were projections of the clans. The advance of civilization had brought them greater power, and largely freed them from the mark of the beast. But the fate of the god was still the fate of the totem, and he was not much nearer the joys of Paradise.

Chapter III

THE WAY OF HEAVEN

I hold that when a person dies
His soul returns again to earth;
Arrayed in some new flesh-disguise
Another mother gives him birth.
With sturdier limbs and brighter brain
The old soul takes the roads again.

MASEFIELD

ACCORDING to the earliest faith of humanity, the souls of the dead took the form of their totem-animals and were conveyed to the ghostly camping-grounds of their dead ancestors. There they remained for an indefinite time, but eventually they entered into women and so obtained a second incarnation as members of their original clans. When the totem became a god in human form and the facts of life were discovered, it was believed that dead men rose again in the same shape which they had worn when living, and went to the Otherworld where they were governed by the deity who had been incarnate in their earthly ruler. The worship of the totem was thus replaced by the cult of that human begetter who had superseded him. At first this was merely the deified king with whom were associated all the forces that made for fertility, which had formerly been assigned to the sacred beast. He was regarded as the husband of the Earth, and hence as the male principle in every form of reproduction. In the heavens he corresponded to the sun, in the atmosphere to lightning and to rain, on earth to fire and seed. But since fecundity involved the union of opposite principles he was looked on as a dual god in whom the sexes were united. His different aspects were described by many appellatives which evolved into individual gods. In the fourth millennium before the Christian era, the totemism of paleolithic times had been made over by this process into the polytheism of Sumer.

A similar transformation had occurred in the religious ideas of a wholly different people whose descendants are the Chinese. Their place of origin has been ascribed to the western highlands of Asia,¹ which was also the home of the Sumerians. From the earliest arrival of the latter on the banks of the Euphrates, there were trade relations between this Mediterranean race and the tribes of central Asia, for the lapis found in the oldest Sumerian tombs was imported from the Orient.² The similarities between the *ku wen*, or old characters, of Chinese and the primitive pictograms which underlie the cuneiformic script, the fact that Sumerian was originally read from right to left as Chinese is today, and the resemblances in vocabulary and syntax between the two languages indicate that in prehistoric times these peoples, so different physiologically, inherited a common culture.³ And since the inscriptions of Ur are much more ancient than any of the records of Cathay, and the rites of Sumer have always dominated those of their cruder neighbors, the natural assumption is that the cults of central Asia began in the worship of a dying god.

The earliest deity of China is Shang Ti ('The Supreme Ruler'), the heavenly ancestor of the emperors, who alone had the right to offer him sacrifices.⁴ He was represented as a dragon, for this peculiar beast embodied the male principle, or *yang*. It originated as an aggregation of totems like that composite depicted in the cavern of Trois Frères, for, according to commentaries it displays the horns of a deer, the head of a camel, the neck of a snake, the abdomen of a cockle, the scales of a carp, the claws of an eagle, the soles of a tiger, and an ox's ears. Suspended from its neck is a pearl which represents the sun, and hence the Azure Dragon presided over the East. Its imperial prototype has five claws, representing the five elements, but the ordinary species has one less and is a symbol of wood or growth. The dragon is the controller of rain and sunlight. Shang Ti was also equated with T'ien ('Heaven') through that confusion of the god with his particular sphere which is universal in Sumerian. And the tradition of his sacrifice is preserved in the belief that the four Sea-Dragon Kings, one for each point of the com-

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pass, mount to heaven once a year to render their account,⁵ as Apsū, the lord of the abyss, was annually sent to the Other-world in a ritualistic combat with Ea, his other self.

Another symbol of the Yang was the Red Bird or Phoenix, also a compound totem with a chicken's head, a swallow's chin, a serpent's neck, and a fish's tail. The five colors are blended in its plumage, and its call is a harmony of the five notes. It presides over the South. The sun is the egg which hatches it. It seems to represent fire, since it consumes itself and rises from its ashes. Its appearance heralds prosperity, its vanishing brings a curse upon the land.⁶ Thus it conforms exactly to the traditions of Bel-Marduk, who also was symbolized by a bird, stood for the element fire, and annually restored prosperity by rising from the dead.

The female complement of the Yang was the Yin, or passive principle. On earth it was the symbol of water and of the female sex, in heaven it typified the moon. Its animal form, the tortoise, presided over the north, and was called 'The Dark Warrior.' Its combat with a snake is frequently depicted, and is said to represent the fight between good and evil. By a natural association, it became the emblem of control, the quenching of fiery passion, and so exemplified stability, a faculty not usually ascribed to the Eternal Feminine. A favorite method of telling the future was by heating the carapace of this reptile and noting the resultant cracks. This was the union of the Yin and Yang, and was made potent by a sacrifice, the shell, before being heated, being smeared with the blood of a victim. The deity was sent to the Underworld to learn the secrets of destiny, and recorded them in the fissures of its breast-plate for the benefit of the faithful.⁷ Though used in a slightly different manner, this rite of divination suggests the slaying of Tammuz that his resurrection might bring good auguries.

The unicorn⁸ completed this quartet. He was a complex creature, like the dragon and the phoenix, with a horse's tail, an ox's hoofs, and the body of a deer. The five colors were blended on his back as they were in the phoenix's feathers, but his underparts were yellow. He was the head of the quadrupeds, while

the dragon ruled over everything with scales, the phoenix over the birds, and the tortoise over shellfish. His appearance, like that of the phoenix, was a sign of plenteous years. Since he never browsed on living vegetation nor walked on the green grass, he seems to have ruled the West, for green, the color of growing things, was associated with the East.⁹ But the usual emblem of that declining quarter is not the unicorn but the White Tiger, who represents metal and autumn.¹⁰

In human form these opposite principles were the rulers of the fairies. The queen, Hsi Wang Mu ('The Royal Lady of the West'), was spontaneously formed from the pure quintessence of the Western Air. She is often spoken of as the Golden Mother of the Tortoise. Near her palace in the mountains of K'un-lun are orchards of magic peaches. Combined with the ashes of the mulberry tree — which symbolizes fire, the Yang, as the peaches do water, the Yin — they cure all ailments of the flesh and bestow eternal life. They are hard to come by, however, for the trees put forth their leaves once every three thousand years and it takes as long again for the fruit to ripen. This befalls on the birthday of Hsi Wang Mu when the Feast of Peaches is held on the shore of the Lake of Gems. There all the Immortals are regaled with bears' paws, monkeys' lips, dragons' liver, and phoenix marrow, as well as with the much-desired dessert which keeps them from growing old.¹¹

Her husband, Tung Wang Kung ('The Royal Lord of the East'), was the first of the living beings produced by the primitive vapor. He was created from the Eastern Air, and possesses a palace in the skies with violet clouds for a roof, and blue ones for its walls. He has two servants, Hsien T'ung ('Immortal Youth') and Yü Nu ('Jade Maiden'), who are doublets of himself and Hsi Wang Mu. The combat between the Yin and the Yang, which is also a sexual union, is what gives birth to the lightning. According to a somewhat deleted version, its spirit originated when the Jade Maiden defeated her august master in playing a game of pitch-pot.¹²

As for the Yin and the Yang themselves, the story of their birth is given mystic expression by Lao Tzu (604 B.C.). In the

sixth chapter of his *Tao Teh King* he says that the deathless spirits of the abyss are called the great void, which consists of heaven and earth, and endures continually, working without a conscious effort. This passage is said to be quoted from Hwang-Ti ('The Yellow Emperor'), who, according to Chinese chronology, began to reign in 2698 B.C. To him is ascribed the origin of Taoism, the worship of the Tao or Way, which, when it has no name, is the originator of heaven and earth, and, having a name, is the universal mother. There are no Taoist texts extant, however, which date from before the time of Lao Tzu.¹³ About five hundred years later the philosopher Liu An wrote *The History of the Great Light*, which is an interpretation of Taoism. He separates Tao into the Yin and Yang, spontaneously produced. A more complex theory was set forth by Liu Hsiang (80-9 B.C.). He was visited, so he asserts, by an ancient mystic who, before he vanished into thin air, revealed himself as the Essence of the Great Center. This eminent authority attributed the evolution of the universe to the interaction of the five elements, water, fire, wood, metal, and earth. His scheme of creation was combined with the dualistic theory by writers of the T'ang and Sung dynasties who taught that the elements produced finite existence, but that thereafter the finite moved and so created Yang, then rested, and thus Yin came into being. All form and life resulted from the contact of these two.¹⁴

Such mystic and impersonal ancestors were all very well for philosophers, but the popular mind demanded more concrete-ness. It was not till the fourth century A.D., however, that an anthropomorphic creator entered the pantheon of China. Ko Hung in his *Biographies of the Gods* introduced the curious figure of P'an Ku, who comes, so it is said, from Indo-China. The first half of his name means 'egg-shell,' the second 'solid' or 'to secure.' Some translators give it the significance of 'aboriginal abyss' and so equate him with Tiamat and Apsū, thus making him a humanized form of Lao Tzu's *great void*. He is pictured as a dwarf with a bearskin wrapped about him, or else an apron of leaves. There are two horns on his head. He holds the chisel and hammer, with which he shaped the world, but these are

sometimes replaced by the sun and moon. Sometimes he is attended by the creatures of the compass, the dragon, tortoise, phoenix, and unicorn. The legend is that he formed the universe in eighteen thousand years, and during that time grew six feet every day. When it was finished, he died to give his creation life as Bel cut off his head to vitalize the earth. At his death the gigantic corpse was magically transformed, his head becoming the mountains, his breath the wind and clouds, his voice the thunder, his limbs the four regions, his flesh the soil, his blood the streams, his beard the stars of heaven, his skin and hair the grasses, plants and trees, his bones and marrow the metals, rocks and gems, his sweat the rain, and his lice the earliest race of men.¹⁵ What he really wrought appears to have been his body. The cosmos was a self-created giant whose vital powers became the source of life.

That this myth developed so late was due to the influence of Confucius, born half a century after Lao Tzu. He employed his genius in rationalizing religion, keeping the rites that helped in government, but judiciously divesting them of the magic that begot them. He made theology subservient to the interests of the living, and while approving the worship of the dead, as an excellent means of suppressing radicalism, he discounted all prying into the world of spirits and mystic speculations which produced no practical benefits.¹⁶ He succeeded so well that for people of his race the Otherworld today is merely a replica of China with the same number of provinces, departments, and county-seats in charge of governors, prefects, and district-magistrates. It has its towns, its markets, its shops, its bureaus of public works, its police department, its executioners, its tax collectors, its army with officers and privates. Men continue to ply their trades beyond the grave. Dead mandarins rotate in office just as the living do. There are the same rules of conduct, the same tastes, the same forms of graft, the same rewards for success and penalties for failure. Death has no mystery for the soul to solve. It goes on doing what it has always done.¹⁷

But it was not alone in Indo-China that the old tales lingered on. The many migrations from China to Japan disseminated

them there.²⁸ In this new home Confucianism hampered the literary classes, but the less cultured clung to the traditions of their superstitious ancestors. And here the Yin and Yang are neither abstract forces nor curious animals. They are gods in human form whose lives and deaths show clearly whence they came.

The ancient records of Shinto ('The Way of the Gods'), the primitive religion of Japan, relate that from the original chaos, smooth as a sea of oil, something emerged which was like a sprouting reed. This was Kuni-toko-tachi ('The One who stands perpetually over the World'), also known as Ame-no-min-akanashi ('The Lord in the center of Heaven'). The creation of Yin and Yang occurred at the same moment. The meaning of their Japanese names is the Divine-Producing Goddess and the High-Producing God. As in the Sumerian story, these first immortal beings were exceedingly prolific, and quickly peopled heaven, but it was many generations before the events occurred which resulted in the creation of the earth. Then there arose two later avatars of the original pair, Izana-mi ('The Female who Invites') and Izana-gi ('The Male who Invites'). In the interests of fertility they set forth from the sky and descended by the 'Floating Bridge of Heaven.' Using his spear for staff, the male deity felt his way till the salt water dripping from its point clotted and formed the island Ono-koro ('Self-coagulating'). This recalls the statement by the Taoist patriarch Lu that the primordial ether was created by the congealing of the Tao, which thereafter divided into Yin and Yang. Having explored this earliest bit of land in opposite directions, the divine adventurers met at its farther side, and mated where they met. But since the goddess was guilty of a breach of etiquette during the wedding-rite, the first fruit of their union had no form, but was like a jellyfish, so that they cast it into the water. There it still exists as Ebisu ('Foreigner'), the smiling deity of success whose sacred beast is the sea-bream, a symbol of good fortune. Their other offspring apparently pleased them better, though they were equally odd in form, as they included the sea, the waterfalls, the wind, the islands of the Japanese archipelago,

the forests, the mountains, and the fertile fields. But in giving birth to fire, the goddess was fatally burned. She descended to Yomi-no-Kuni ('The Land of Gloom') and was followed there by Izana-gi, who refused to give her up. In the nether darkness he found his mate again. She told him that he must not look at her, but in his impatience he kindled a light which revealed her as a gruesome corpse. He fled in horror, but she pursued him, calling the ghosts to aid her. By throwing behind him three peaches as he ran, he succeeded in delaying the hungry dead just long enough to let him get back to earth. Even there the goddess would have followed him, but in the nick of time he blocked the way with rocks. In revenge she vowed to exterminate his offspring, slaying a thousand each day, but he replied that this would not avail, since each day he would give birth to fifteen hundred. To accomplish this he had to die himself, as P'an Ku perished to vitalize the world. He cleansed himself from the pollutions of mortality, which took the form of evil spirits, by bathing himself in a stream, and there the change came upon him. His breath became the storm-god Susa-no-wo ('The swift, impetuous Deity'), his right eye the moon-god Tsuki-yo-mi ('Guardian of the Moonlit Night'), and his left eye the sun-goddess Ama-terasu ('Heaven-illuminating Deity').¹⁹ And in the ensuing contest of his offspring the cycle is repeated. Here the Yin, or female power, represents death and darkness and the Yang, or male power, typifies life and light. They are the two components of the Way, each useless without the other. Their union is extinction and renewal, quenching and kindling, the slaying of the god that he may rise again, the cult of Sumer which originated in the sacrifice of the totem.

The immediate sequel of this primal battle is the struggle of the sun against the storm. In this the rôles are reversed. The female is the maker, the male is the destroyer. The climax of their long-continued warfare came when Susa-no-wo arrived in his sister's realm, the Plain of High Heaven. She armed herself in haste and went to meet him at the ford of the celestial river. But the clashes of the Yin and Yang are quarrels which end in offspring. A treaty was quickly made, and by way of re-

parations they agreed to exchange possessions. The sun-goddess bartered her jewels for the sword her brother wielded. They drank together at the heavenly well and dined upon the treasures thus exchanged. But in the mouth of the goddess the sword became a boy, the storm-god reincarnate, while the jewels eaten by her adversary produced a second deity of light.²⁰ Again the old gods died in giving birth to new, and the duel of love and hate began again.

There are many versions of this sacred legend. One tells how the goddess of the sun, incensed at her brother's conduct, took refuge in a cave, plunging the world in darkness. The other gods, eight million in number, assembled just outside and tried by various methods to summon back the light. They tempted the goddess with offerings of silk, with mirrors, and with swords. They set up trees decked out with brilliant gems, brought cocks who kept up a perpetual crowing, and kindled monstrous bonfires to keep the gloom at bay. At last they enlisted the aid of the goddess Uzume ('Blessing'), who performed a dance so amusing that all of them burst out laughing. The hidden deity heard this merriment and peeped from her hiding-place to find out what it was all about. A ray of light announced her presence. Then the strong gods widened the chink from which it shone and drew her out by force. At her reappearance darkness and evil fled and there was great rejoicing, as there was when the gods of Babylon burst the door of the Otherworld and freed the imprisoned Bel. For Fertility which was dead had been restored to life.²¹

Another variation of this theme reveals the true inwardness of the tale of Perseus and Andromeda. Susa-no-wo, after leaving the Plain of Heaven, descended to the region of Izumo ('Rising Clouds') on the coast of the Sea of Japan. There he met a couple bitterly lamenting because their only daughter, Wondrous Ricefield Princess, was to be sacrificed to a dragon who demanded a maiden each year. The storm-god led the victim to the appointed spot on the banks of the river Hi. Soon after the dragon arrived, drank up the *saké*-spirit set out for him, and attacked the terrified princess. But Susa-no-wo

came to the rescue and soon dispatched the monster. The girl he had delivered became his wife.²²

This has a doublet in which there is no maiden. Susa-no-wo on reaching Rising Clouds killed an enormous serpent which had an eight-forked head. When he dissected it a sword fell out of its tail which the victor sent to his sister as a tribute. It is still preserved as one of the three great treasures of the Japanese emperors who claim to be descended from the sun.

The sword is certainly the same as that of the other legend, which Susa-no-wo presented to Ama-terasu, thus begetting a child by her. The serpent and the dragon are incarnations of the storm-god's sister, foe, and bride. The battle is also a mating, as was the case when Ea fought with Apsū and Marduk with Tiamat. The rescued princess is one with the monster who menaced her, both being forms of the Yin, whose mating with the Yang is death and resurrection, the systole and the diastole of life.

In Korea, Susa-no-wo is identified with Indra, the storm-god of the *Vedas*. He seems to have been regarded as a bull, for he is also known as Guzu Tenno ('The Celestial King of the Ox's Head') and a place which he visited is Soshi-mori ('Ox's Head'). He is worshiped there as the healer of diseases. According to another Korean legend, the forests of Kii originated as the hairs of his head and beard. On its eastern coast is a shrine which marks his grave. In the yearly festival it is heaped with flowers. Like his father Izana-gi, and like the Chinese P'an Ku, he became the genius of fertility, who died to invigorate the earth.

A later form of the storm-god was Oh-kuni-nushi ('The Great Land-Master'), who carried off that daughter who was the deity of light and life and had sprung from the gems of the sun-goddess when her brother put them in his mouth. Having disposed of the sleeping Susa-no-wo by tying his hair to the beams of the house, that daring suitor abducted the goddess and stole the treasures of her father, a sword, a bow, and a harp. The harp gave the alarm by playing of itself, whereupon the god awoke, unloosed his hair, and overtook the robber. Instead of

taking revenge, however, he allowed the culprit to keep what he had taken, abdicated in his favor, and gave him the title of Utsushi-kuni-dama ('The Soul of the Beautiful Land').²³

The reason for this curious leniency is hinted at by another legend. It is said that when the Great Land-Master was cultivating his rice-fields he fed his laborers on beef. On learning that the fields had been polluted by the remnants of the slaughtered animals, the harvest-god sent down a plague of locusts which ate up all the plants. To propitiate the angry deity the Great Land-Master sacrificed a white boar, a white horse, and a white cock. This proved effective for the harvest-god told the repentant deity how to repair the damage, and also instructed him in the phallic cult. Thus the curse of sterility was removed and prosperity returned.²⁴

The slaying and eating of a bull brought a blight upon the fields, as did the murder of Tammuz. Susa-no-wo was a bull. After his encounter with the Great Land-Master, we hear no more about him, and the latter takes his place as the sun's adversary. The modern idea of sacrifice as a gift has obscured the original meaning of the myth, and the introduction of the harvest-god, a third form of the Yang, has resulted in additional complications. Yet it is clear that the cult behind this myth is the annual killing of a deity and that the Great Land-Master is the storm-god risen again.

Another dying-god is his chief ally, the dwarf, Suku-na-biko ('The Man of Little Fame'). This tiny personage landed on a raft and introduced himself as a son of the Divine-Producing Goddess. His legs were so weak that he could not walk alone, yet he was possessed of all wisdom and had a cure for every ailment. One day, however, he climbed an ear of millet. It bent beneath him, then straightened suddenly and hurled him so far that he went to Tokoyo ('The Land of Eternity'). He is said to appear again from time to time and guide the sick to healing springs.²⁵

The Great Land-Master was also dispossessed, just as Susa-no-wo had been. His supplanter was Ninigi ('Prosperity-man'), the grandson of the goddess of the sun. On one occasion she

chanced to glance from heaven towards 'The Middle Land where Reeds Grow Plentifully' — in other words, Japan — and saw that it was possessed by the storm-god's offspring, who swarmed like blue-bottle flies. She thereupon sent down Ninigi with instructions to conquer them and 'to rule the country for eternity.' He was aided by Futsu-nushi ('The Sharp-cutting Lord') and Take-mi-Kazuchi ('The Valiant Lordly Thunder'). The gentler powers were also on his side, for he married Ko-no-hana-sakuya-hime ('The Lady Who Makes the Trees Bloom'). The struggle, nevertheless, was long. In the end Oh-kuni-nushi and his sons submitted, but stipulated that while the visible world was to be swayed by Ninigi, the hidden things were still to be ruled by them. They yielded the substance but kept the shadow. And as the lords of darkness they still continue the war against the armies of light.²⁶

The moon-god, the right eye of Izana-gi, does not take part in these battles. He ruled the night as his sister did the day, but his more lurid brother took his place as the sun's complement and antithesis. In only a single myth is the moon a protagonist. On one occasion he went down to earth to call on Ukumuchi ('The Deity of Food'). This goddess, wishing to set a meal before him, turned towards the fields, the ocean, and the mountains. In the first position she produced boiled rice, in the second fish of every kind, in the third all sorts of game. But all these things were emitted from her mouth, and such a larder was not to the moon-god's taste. Feeling himself insulted, he killed his hostess, whose body straightway produced all sorts of useful things. From her head came the cow and the horse, her eyebrows turned to silkworms, millet sprouted from her forehead, rice from her belly, beans from her nose, and wheat from her genitals. The good results of the deed did not condone it, however, in the eyes of the moon-god's sister. She vowed that never again would she look on her brother's face. Hence from that time the moon has never risen till after the sun has set.²⁷

The natural phenomenon interpreted by this myth does not account for its form. It belongs with the other narratives of a combat between the male and female principles which results

in an increase of the food supply, the stories of the strife of the Yin and Yang which causes reproduction.

In China, myth and history constantly intertwine. The first emperors were gods, and many later heroes were regarded as incarnations of deities. If the chronology is to be credited, the earliest form of the Yang was the emperor Fu Hsi, who was also called T'ai Hao ('The Great Almighty'), and T'ien Huang Shi ('The Celestial Emperor'). His date is given as 3322 B.C., which would make him contemporary with the early Sumerian kings and with the First Dynasty of Egypt. He and his sister Nu Kua are said to have been the earliest human beings, the progenitors of mankind. At the creation they were placed at the foot of the K'un-lun Mountains, and after consulting the will of Heaven they became man and wife. According to other accounts, Nu Kua moulded from yellow earth the ancestors of humanity. She and her brother bore the surname Fêng ('Wind'), and are represented as having the tails of serpents, while she herself had an ox's head or wore an ox's horns. They are run together as though two halves of a single entity, so that their names are sometimes given as being Nu and Kua, while certain annalists make Nu Kua the successor of Fu Hsi. And both of them appear as protagonists in a contest like that of Marduk and Tiamat.

That of Fu Hsi is a very tame encounter. One day while he was walking beside a river he saw a colossal monster playing there. It had a horse's body, but the scales of a fish or dragon. Fu Hsi requested it to come out, which it did immediately, and the emperor took from its back a tablet on which were inscribed the Eight Diagrams, consisting of various combinations of light and dark circles or full and broken lines, and representing, 1, heaven; 2, bodies of water; 3, fire or the sun or lightning; 4, thunder; 5, wind or wood; 6, rain or clouds or streams or the moon; 7, the mountains; and 8, earth. In the same way Bel-Marduk took from the conquered Kingu the Tablet of Destinies which Tiamat had bound upon his back. Like the Sumerian deity, Fu Hsi was the active principle, the spirit of wind and fire, and the document he acquired was equally momentous, for

it was the basis of divination, of philosophy, and of writing. And the combat in both cases was the union of Yin and Yang which was the source of all creation.

The battle in which Nu Kua engaged is variously given. One version relates that Kung Kung, a feudatory prince, rebelled against her, seeking to overthrow the influence of wood, under which she held sway, and substitute that of water. Being conquered by Chu Jung, her chief of staff, who was the god of fire, he toppled over the Imperfect Mountain by striking it with his head. This destroyed the pillars of heaven and the corners of the earth. Nu Kua, however, repaired these ravages, restoring the heavens by melting together stones of the five colors and also cutting off the feet of the tortoise, which represented water, that she might use them to prop up the world. In this way she put an end to the flood produced by the cataclysm, thus saving the land of Chi. Marduk had rendered the world a similar service by splitting Tiamat in two, thus confining the waters and forming the solid ground.

In the other version, the defeated chief, angered at being beaten by a woman, butted against the Heavenly Bamboo, and brought it to the ground. Its top tore rents in the sky through which the waters poured drowning all the inhabitants of the earth except the queen and her soldiers. This conqueror who, like Tiamat, is called the Mother of the Gods, and, like Marduk, is styled their Defender, prepared a cement from stones of the five colors and patched the holes in the heavens, thus setting everything right again.²⁸

The successor of Fu Hsi, or Nu Kua, was Shên Nung ('The Divine Farmer'), also known as Ti Huang Shi ('The Earthly Emperor'). He later became the god of agriculture. On succeeding to the throne he adopted fire as the emblem of his rule, and hence he was also called Huo Ti ('The Fire Emperor') and Yen Ti ('The Blazing Emperor'). He taught the art of smelting and the use of oil in lamps, and also invented the cart and the plow, established the first markets, and wrote a treatise on medicinal plants. Like Nu Kua he had the head of a bull, though his body was that of a man. It is said that he could talk when

three days old, could walk in two more days, and in another two had a full set of teeth. At the age of three he began to till the fields. After reaching the age of a hundred and sixty-eight he achieved immortality, and is today one of the favored guests at the Peach Banquet of the fairy queen. Like Fu Hsi he understood the laws of nature, and so was in communion with the Creator and assisted in ordaining the universe. On withdrawing to a higher sphere he awarded the tablet (of the Eight Diagrams) to the following ruler Huang Ti ('The Yellow Emperor'), thus bestowing upon him the virtue of Earth.²⁹

Huang Ti (2704-2595 B.C.) was born in a miraculous way. His parents were visiting Fu Hsi's tomb when a dazzling circle of gold appeared in heaven, causing his mother to conceive. Her pregnancy lasted two years, and the boy was born at last on the day which corresponded to the element of earth. He first gained prominence by his victory over the rebel Chi-'h Yu who is probably a variant of Kung Kung. For this great exploit he was made emperor, as Marduk became the sovereign of the gods through conquering Tiamat. Like Marduk also he established cults, being the first to sacrifice to Shang Ti, and to introduce the worship of the Door-Gods who guard the dwelling. He was subject to mysterious trances in which his spirit visited distant regions and learned the secrets of eternity, and through the occult powers he thus acquired he taught his subjects to live on air and dew. For the twenty-seven years in which he ruled, his kingdom was an earthly paradise. At the end of that time he abdicated in favor of Chu Jung, the deity of fire.³⁰

To the latter the same improvements are credited which have been assigned to Shên Nung, of whom he appears to be a doublet, for sometimes he precedes Huang Ti, instead of succeeding him. He was known as Ch'ih Ti ('The Red Emperor'), and taught the arts of forging and welding. His battle with Kung Kung has been already noted. He is also said to have overcome Hui Lu, another god of fire, by striking him with a golden bracelet. He reigned two hundred years and then became an Immortal.³¹

There is another representative of fire who is not included among the emperors, but who corresponds to Shên Nung and

Chu Jung. This is Ch'ih Ching-tzu, the principle of spiritual flame. His skin, hair, beard, trousers, and mantle of leaves are all the color of the element which he personifies. He is said to have originated it, deriving it from the wood of the mulberry-tree, whereupon its union with water formed the germs of earthly life.³² In a more abstract form this also is an example of the myth of the Yin and Yang.

Fu Hsi, Shên Nung, and Huang Ti form a triad, and might be called a deity in three persons. We meet them again in later history as Yao ("The Exalted"), Shun ("The Benevolent and Wise"), and Yü ("The Unconstrained"), who were referred to as the Three Origins.³³ The first of these is said to have gained the throne in 2359 B.C. He was styled Fang-hsun ("The Highly Meritorious"). His shining influence was felt through the four quarters of the land and reached the heaven above. He united and harmonized the countless petty states and set so good an example to his subjects that all the black-headed people grew brightly intelligent. He also established a year of three hundred and sixty-six days by introducing an intercalary month, and inaugurated the border sacrifices, performed at the solstices of spring, summer, autumn, and winter. His chief minister was the Four Mountains. The god of the sun was the general of his armies. Nevertheless, like all his predecessors he was troubled by the insubordinate waters which embraced the hills and overtopped the heights and assailed the heavens with their floods. Like them, too, he looked about for an heir who could quell this elemental insurrection, thus proving himself entitled to the throne. The Four Mountains suggested that Shun was the man for the job, since he had proved his great abilities by living in harmony with vicious relatives and managing to reform them. Yao gave him his two daughters in marriage as a further test of his merit, and in this ordeal the candidate was equally successful. He was therefore sent to cope with the flood, and managed to allay it. The spirits of the five planets thereafter appeared to Yao and announced that Heaven would send an augury, and shortly after a dragon-horse emerged from the river Ho. It bore in its mouth a tortoise-shell which it laid upon

an altar. Inside it was a casket of gold and rubies containing a tally of precious crystal on which was this inscription, 'Gratefully given to Emperor Shun.' Yao, however, was still in doubt and waited for two years longer. Then he led his officers to the banks of the river Lo into which he threw a disk. A red light heralded the appearance of a tortoise which rose from the waters and climbed upon the altar. The crimson lines on its back were characters which instructed Yao to abdicate, leaving the throne to Shun. Convinced at last that Heaven really meant it, the emperor obeyed.³⁴

The new vice-regent of Shang Ti assumed the sovereignty in the Temple of the Accomplished Ancestor, and received the name of Khung-hwa, which means 'Yao Repeated.' As his birth was miraculous, he appears to have been considered as a reincarnation of his predecessor. Like Yao he had two pupils in each eye and hence was known as 'Double Brightness.' His parents had attempted to destroy him by shutting him up in a granary and setting it on fire, but he had magic garments made by birds which enabled him to escape. They also sent him to deepen a well and tried to crush him or confine him there by filling it up with stones, but on this occasion he had dragon-clothing and so got out unharmed. At his accession phoenixes appeared, and all the beasts came to the capitol joyously frolicking, while a new and brilliant star shone forth. His rule was beneficent, and his piety unfailing. The sacrifices to Shang Ti were scrupulously observed, and the emperor presented offerings to the Six Honored Ones and to the hills, the rivers, and the dead. In spite of this the waters rose against him, and threatened the very skies. Shun raised an altar by the river Ho to discover the will of Heaven. A yellow dragon issued from it with a writing on its back in lines of red and green. This commanded Shun to yield the sovereignty, choosing Yü as his successor.³⁵

Yü was at last successful in dominating the deluge. That this was his destiny had been foretold by a man-headed fish which was the spirit of the river Ho. It had given him a chart which showed what steps should be taken. By following this, he put a final end to this recurrent peril and was presented with

a mace by Heaven in token of his triumph. His relation with the ruler of the skies had always been intimate. His mother was a falling star who was made pregnant by a dream and gave birth to her famous offspring after swallowing a pearl, the symbol of the sun. Yü was over nine feet in height and rejoiced in a tiger's nose. His eyes had only one pupil apiece, but to make up for that, each of his ears had a triple orifice. He dreamed that while he was bathing in the Ho he drank up all the water, like Adam's legendary son who tried to engulf the Flood. So sure was he of the designs of Fate that dangers could not daunt him. Once as he crossed a river two yellow dragons surged upward from the depths and took his boat on their backs. His companions were in terror, but Yü assured them that he had been appointed by Heaven to carry out his task, and therefore could not fail. On hearing this the dragons went away, trailing discouraged tails.³⁶

Another achievement credited to Yü is the invention of writing. This was due to a miraculous happening. A tortoise, emerging from the river Lo, did obeisance to the emperor. On its back were characters like those upon the tablet which Fu Hsi had taken from the dragon-horse. They formed a rebus known as the Great Plan. It consisted of a magic square of odd and even numbers in which the unit was a circle. For the odd numbers the circles were light, for the even numbers black. Putting numbers in the place of designs, the arrangement is as follows:

4	9	2
3	5	7
8	1	6

so that the sum of each column — diagonal, vertical, or horizontal — always amounts to fifteen. On this foundation the emperor composed a mystic treatise embracing divination, physics, astrology, morals, politics and religion, as Fu Hsi did with the Eight Diagrams. Incidentally, from these characters arose the earliest Chinese script.³⁷

Whatever history there may be in the stories of these rulers

has been submerged in myth. Essentially they are not men but gods, or rather one god under different names. All their achievements had a single source, the invention of arithmetic and writing no less than the creation of the earth, of vegetation, of animals, and of man. In China, as in Sumeria, the earliest numbers were runes and represented natural forces which had been deified.³⁸ From them the alphabet originated. Both are based on the union of water and fire, earth and heaven, Yin and Yang, the nuptial strife of opposing elements in which all things began.

Yü was the founder of the Hsia ('Summer') dynasty. In 1766 B.C., it was replaced by that of Shang ('Autumn'), which was later known as Yin. It was established by Cheng T'ang ('T'ang the Successful'). He also had a miraculous birth, and was gigantic in stature and peculiar in physique. Each of his arms had four joints. When he came to the altar which Yao had set up, he dropped a gem in the river, whereupon yellow fishes leaped up in pairs, a black bird lit on the shrine and was changed to a black gem, and a black tortoise appeared marked with red ideograms which declared that T'ang should take the sovereignty. A spirit hooked a white wolf in the mouth and dragged it into the court of T'ang to indicate that he should thus lead captive the monarch he opposed. As usual the auguries were fulfilled. The dynasty thus happily installed lasted more than six hundred years,³⁹ but was overthrown by the rival house Chou in 1122 B.C. The new emperors traced their ancestry to Shên Nung, the incarnation of fire, and accordingly their lucky color was red. The leader of the rebellion was Wên Wang ('Royal Ideal'), who was ten feet high and had a dragon's face set on a tiger's shoulders. He was the proud possessor of four nipples. The usual presages predicted his success. A red bird came to his capital, which was known as Fêng ('Wind'), with a writing directing him to destroy the dynasty of Shang. And his son Wu Wang ('Royal Victor'), the first of the line to reign, had a white fish jump into his boat as he crossed the river Meng. Under its eyes were red lines which conveyed the message that Heaven would bless his enterprise. He sacrificed the fish to Shang Ti, whereupon fire descended from the skies and became a red bird

with a stalk of grain in its beak. Thus assured of Heaven's backing, he persevered until he won the throne.⁴⁰

The struggle of Shang and Chou is usually believed to be historical, though it is full of miraculous happenings. But the ancient myth is applied to this as well. Black, the color of Shang, was also that of the north and of the Sombre Warrior who guarded it, the tortoise who was the Yin. The Red Bird, phoenix or peacock, was the emblem of the South and typified the Yang. In the final battle which led to Wu Wang's accession the leader of his hosts received the aid of a spiritual peacock, while his worsted antagonist was at last transformed into a monstrous tortoise.⁴¹ On the war of human chieftains is superposed the struggle of the elements fire and water, or of the male and female principles. Ta-Chi, the infamous mistress of the last Shang emperor, is confused with the Queen of the Waters, the Mother of the Gods, the Tiamat of Sumer, while the leader of the rebel armies becomes the god of fire, and corresponds to Bel-Marduk. Thus all the early history of China is based upon a rite, the sacrifice of the god of fertility that he may rise again.

This is well illustrated by the story of T'ai Sui, who corresponds to the planet Jupiter, as Marduk also did, and who became the President of the Ministry of Time, presiding over the year. He was the son of Queen Chiang and of the Emperor Chou, the last of the Shang rulers. When he was born he had no human shape, but looked like a lump of flesh, as did the first born son of Izana-mi, the primeval goddess of Japan. Ta Chi persuaded his father that the baby was a monster, so he exposed it outside the city wall and had its mother murdered. A passing hermit saw the child and perceived that it was an Immortal, so he cut away the caul which enveloped it, revealing a promising infant. When he grew up, he was given magic weapons which were of great assistance in the overthrow of the Shangs. In the storming of their stronghold, he captured the base Ta Chi and brought her before Wu Wang who told him that he might split her head with his golden battle-axe. But Ta Chi was an Immortal, like her foe, and, transforming herself into smoke, she disappeared. For thus disposing of her, T'ai Sui

was made a god,⁴² as Marduk became the ruler of the skies through slaying Tiamat.

A similar tale is told about Hou-Ch'i ('Castaway Prince'), an ancestor of the dynasty of Chou. His mother, Kiang Yuan, belonged to the house of T'ai which counted as its ancestor, Shên Nung. The hexagram *t'ai* is a union of the trigrams for heaven and earth, or Yang and Yin, and Kiang Yuan's descendants were rightly named. She was the Yin who was mated to the Yang. Wishing to have a child, she sacrificed to Heaven and afterwards stepped in the footprint of Shang Ti, where she conceived her son. Like T'ai Sui he was exposed at birth. When placed in a narrow lane, to be trodden under foot, he was protected by the sheep and oxen; when abandoned in a wood, he was rescued by foresters; when left to freeze on the ice, he was shielded by a bird. He afterwards became a culture hero, like Shên Nung ('The Divine Farmer'). As soon as he could feed himself, he planted beans, wheat, millet, and gourds, and he taught his people to distil from grain an intoxicating drink. He also founded the forms of sacrifice adopted by his posterity, particularly a New Year's offering to the guardian of the path; in other words, T'ai Sui. It consisted of spirits, or mead, and the roasted flesh of a ram.⁴³ In the cult of Marduk, a ram was also slain as a representative of the conquered Kingu who was Marduk's other self. Thus Hou-Ch'i like Marduk, and like the Vedic Agni, who instituted sacrifices, was a deity of fire, the Yang reborn through union with the Yin.

This is likewise true of T'ai Sui, whose ordinary name was Yin No-cha, that is to say, Yin Yang, for No-cha corresponded to the trigram *li*, which represented fire and lightning and the sun.⁴⁴ He was the offspring, or reincarnation, of Li, the Guardian of the Gate of Heaven, and is depicted as sixty feet in height, with three heads and nine eyes, and eight hands, each of which holds a magic weapon. He is crowned with a golden wheel, and blue clouds come from his mouth. When he spoke the earth and the heavens trembled. Like T'ai Sui he fought on the side of Wu Wang against the Yin dynasty, and came into the world in a remarkable manner. One night his mother

dreamed that a Taoist priest appeared beside her bed and thrust something into her bosom with the words, 'Woman, receive the child of the unicorn.' Next day the birth-pangs came upon her, but the offspring she brought forth was a ball of flesh which rolled about like a wheel. Li bisected it with his sword, and from it emerged a baby wearing red silk trousers that gave out golden rays. On its right wrist was a gold bracelet which was called 'the horizon of heaven and earth.' Its owner grew with great rapidity, and at the age of seven was six feet high. At this point in his career he began to fight the waters. It was all on account of his red silk trousers which he dipped into Nine-Bends River that he might mop his heated face with them. When they touched the stream its waters began to boil, and the crystal palace of the dragon-king in the depths of the Eastern Sea almost collapsed upon him. A messenger was sent to remonstrate with No-cha, but he killed him with his bracelet. The son of the monarch fared no better, for the culprit shook his trousers in the air and thus felled him with balls of fire. No-cha then tore out his sinews to make a sword-belt. He also assaulted the dragon-king himself as he went to lay a complaint before Shang Ti, and slew a servant of Shin-chi Niang-niang, the goddess of the waters, with a random arrow shot from a magic bow. The vengeful deity arrived on her azure phoenix and stripped the play-boy of the gods of his trousers and his bracelet. She would have slain him but for a Taoist priest who came to the rescue of his protégé, and after a terrific battle managed to turn her to stone by striking her with his globe of nine fire-dragons. In the meantime, however, the Four Dragon Kings had seized his father and mother. To obtain their release by giving life for life, No-cha committed suicide.

That did not end his activities, however, for he appeared to his mother in a dream and begged her to build him a temple, and to set up a figure of him there, that he might obtain a second incarnation. She did so, and thus raised him from the dead. But Li, enraged that his trouble-making son should be honored as a god, burned the shrine and demolished the statue. The homeless spirit of No-cha then sought the Taoist priest

who had formerly befriended him. The latter made the image of a man with water-lily stalks and lotus leaves, and muttered incantations over it, thus creating a new No-cha sixteen feet high. He also supplied the resuscitated god with a fresh supply of magic weapons. Thus equipped, he attacked his father and overcame him. Li was about to kill himself when another Taoist priest declared that he would save him. He drew from his sleeve a golden pagoda which rose in the air and fell at No-cha's feet, thus enveloping him in flames. Peace was then made between the warring pair, and to prevent a renewal of the strife, Li was given the golden pagoda with which his son had been tamed. Thereafter it was his characteristic weapon. In honor of his victory he was made supreme commander of the Twenty-Six Celestial Officers, Grand Marshal of the Skies, and Guardian of the Gate of Heaven.⁴⁵

The Ta Chi of this account is the goddess Shih-chi Niang-niang, who is a form of No-cha's mother, for the battles with her, with Li, and with the dragon-king are variants of one myth. It is the strife between the Yin and Yang. The cult which lies behind it is the killing of the god of heaven that he may impregnate the earth and thus be born again. It is all summed up in the story of No-cha's birth. The cutting of the caul is the tearing of the thundercloud which causes the birth of the lightning. It appears again in the story of another lightning-god who was hatched from an egg, after a clap of thunder, and was found near an ancient tomb by the soldiers of Wên Wang. That foe of the Yin dynasty promptly adopted the foundling, making him his hundredth son, and gave him to a hermit to be reared. One day the boy discovered and ate two magic apricots, thus uniting fire and water, whereat his shoulders sprouted wings, and he was filled with power. He thereupon rescued his father, imprisoned by the Yin soldiers, as No-cha did Li when he was captured by the Four Dragon Kings. As a return for this service he was made a thunder-god.⁴⁶

Another tale of Ta Chi deals with Wên Wang's oldest son whose name was Po I-k'ao ('Elder Son Occupied with Agriculture'). Ta Chi fell in love with him, but her overtures were

vain. Instead of yielding to her blandishments, he advised the emperor to cast her off. Hearing of this, she insulted him so grossly that he struck her with his lute. For this offense he was crucified, and his body was cut in pieces. At Ta Chi's advice, the flesh was made up into rissoles and presented to Wên Wang as a gift from the emperor. She thought that he would refuse to eat them and hence could be executed for casting contempt on the imperial power. Wên Wang, however, by his mystic gifts, perceived not only the nature of the food, but the reason it had been offered him, and partook of the dish, thus frustrating the plot. The soul of his son became the deity of the northern constellation called Tzu-wei.⁴⁷

There was no need for this conspiracy. Wên Wang was a prisoner who, had he been a mortal, could have been executed on any trumped-up charge. The story is a myth, and is founded on a rite, the annual killing and eating of a victim who represents the god of fertility.

Another tale of the dynastic war concerns a hermit known as Chao Kung-ming, who took the part of the Shang emperor. He was a formidable antagonist, for he rode on a black tiger and used as projectiles pearls which burst like bombshells. Chiang-Tzu-ya, who led the men of Chou, decided to get rid of him by magic. So he made a straw image of his adversary and marked it with his name to avoid mistakes. For twenty days he placated it with incense and accorded to it all the forms of worship. But on the twenty-first he took a bow made out of mulberry-wood and pierced its eyes and heart with peach-wood arrows. Whereupon Chao Kung-ming, in the camp of the enemy, gave a cry, and dropped down dead, like Balder pierced by the dart of mistletoe. After the victory, however, Chiang-Tzu-ya declared an amnesty which applied to souls as well as prisoners. When that of the fallen hermit was brought before him, he praised his bravery, apologized for the stratagem which destroyed him, and made him President of the Ministry of Riches and Prosperity. Today he is worshiped as the God of Wealth.⁴⁸

The mulberry was the tree of fire, the peach the tree of life,

and the two together gave immortality, so that the death of the hermit was his apotheosis. The basis of this story is a rite in which the god is sacrificed each year that by rising again he may give to his worshipers the wealth of the Underworld.

A similar ritual is still employed today in the annual festival of the kitchen-god. In each house, a paper image of him is burned that he may ascend to heaven and report to Shang Ti the doings of its inmates. Before this sacrifice, it is offered honey that all its words may be sweet, so that Heaven will bless the household and send it plenty of food. Sometimes an animal is also slain, the victim being a dog, who is called a yellow sheep, and is probably a symbol of the sun.⁴⁹

Since much of the prosperity of China depends on the making of silk, there is also a cult devoted to the deity who has charge of this industry, Mat 'ou Niang ('The Lady with the Horse's Head'). In the temples, her image is covered with a horse-hide. According to the legend her earthly name was Ts'an Nu. When her father was captured by bandits, and remained away for a year, her mother offered her in marriage to anyone who would bring him back again. On hearing this, the horse, who had been left behind, broke his halter and galloped away, soon returning with his master on his back. The pleasure of the reunion was marred, however, when the horse made it evident that he wanted the reward. This so incensed the father of Ts'an Nu that he shot an arrow which killed his rescuer. The skin was stretched out to dry beside the house. But matters were not mended by this deed, for when the young girl passed that way it suddenly rose up and, wrapping itself about her, vanished into the air. Ten days later the hide was found at the foot of a mulberry-tree. Ts'an Nu, transformed to a silkworm, was feasting on the leaves, and spinning her wedding gown. Her parents were in despair till a vision reassured them. They saw her on a cloud riding the horse and attended by many servants. She descended and said that because of her martyrdom, in the cause of filial piety, she had been made immortal.⁵⁰

According to other accounts the goddess of the silkworm was the wife of the Yellow Emperor.⁵¹ She was thus a form of the

Yin, as he was of the Yang. The myth is based on a horse-sacrifice, represented as a Sacred Marriage, the death of the male and female deities, which was followed by their resurrection.

More elaborate is the myth of the sun and moon. In the twelfth year of the reign of Emperor Yao he met a man who bore a bow with red stuff twisted about it. He declared that his name was Ch'ih Chiang Tzu-ya and boasted that he could fly on the wings of the wind and that no other could shoot as well as he. Moreover, he proved his words by piercing with an arrow a pine-tree that stood on the summit of a mountain and coursing through the air to fetch his shaft. The emperor promptly engaged him, appointing him Chief of the Workers in Wood and naming him Shên I ('The Divine Archer'). Soon after he had an excellent chance to use him, for a series of calamities descended on the land. A number of monstrous bears, and a snake a thousand feet long, began to lay waste the country. Storms uprooted trees and demolished houses. All of the rivers overflowed their banks. Ten suns appeared in the sky instead of one, and their united heat destroyed the crops. Divining that all these things were due to devils, the emperor sent Shên I to vanquish them. His first encounter was with Fêng Po, the deity of the wind, whose home was a star named Ch'i in the constellation Sagittarius. He had taken the shape of a white and yellow sack which breathed out hurricanes. The arrows of the divine archer soon made him beg for mercy. Next he attacked the false suns, which were birds that blew out fire. When impaled, they were transformed to nine red stones. The serpent afterwards fell beneath his bow, and all the bears were caught in traps and slain. Nor did the genius of the flood escape. Shên I perceived in the heart of a mighty torrent a man in white bestriding a white horse, and put him to flight by piercing his left eye. But he spared the woman who was with him, merely showing what he might have done by sending an arrow through her hair. She thanked him for this act of clemency, and informed him that she was Ch'ang O ('The Waxing Moon'), younger sister of Ho Po, the Spirit of the Waters, and

that she would be his wife. So his victorious campaign concluded with a wedding.

Shortly after this, he found a new employment. The daughter of Hsi Wang Mu, the Fairy Queen, commissioned him to build her a marvelous palace. He did it so well that she rewarded him by presenting him with a pill of immortality, cautioning him, however, that he must wait a year before swallowing it, since a careful course of preparation was needed to make its magic effective. So he took it home and hid it under a rafter. He neglected, however, to tell his wife about it. While he was off on military duty, she found the precious object and, tempted by its appetizing smell, immediately ate it. Through its effects, she found she could soar through space in the most exhilarating manner. As she was practicing this accomplishment, she heard her husband coming, and, realizing that she had robbed him of his most precious treasure, she leaped out of the window and mounted toward the skies. Shên I, at once aware of what had happened, pursued her with his bow, but a magic tempest carried him away, whirling like a dead leaf, and brought him to the palace of Tung Wang Kung on the top of a lofty mountain. His wife continued upward till she landed on the moon, where she has lived ever since, subsisting on the cinnamon that grows there, and drinking draughts of dew. When she first arrived, the cold air made her cough, thus ejecting the outer coating of the pill. It became a hare, the color of white jade, which was the spirit-ancestress of the Yin.⁵²

The Fairy King soothed the bereft Shên I by promising that, even without a pill, he should become an Immortal, and said that he was fated to occupy the palace of the sun while his wife, by the decree of destiny, had already been instated in the moon. He gave him a cake, which rendered him immune to the heat of the solar orb, and a talisman which would enable him to visit the lunar sphere. He also sent him in quest of a three-footed cock which perched on a tree at the place where the sun arose. Every day when it saw him in his morning bath it gave a cry that wakened humanity and set crowing the earthly cocks, descended from his seed. This was the spirit-ancestor

of the Yang, and would instruct him as to when the sun should rise, reach the zenith, and set. Shên I obtained this bird and, mounted on its back, reached his appointed place where he leads an existence wholly free from care. As a token of forgiveness, he built his wife a dwelling which was known as Kuang-han Kung ('The Palace of Great Cold'). On the fifteenth day of each month he joins her there. The splendor of the full moon on these occasions is due to the union of the Yin and Yang.⁵³

This story is another cosmic myth describing the combination of fire and water, which was the source of life. It implies a cult in which the victims were a red cock and a white rabbit, representing the sun and moon, or the male and female forces. The sacrifices of this strangely assorted pair must have been regarded as a Sacred Marriage, renewing fertility through the resurrection of the deities of increase.

The two great sacrifices of ancient China were offered by the emperor himself at the summer and winter solstices, the former being in honor of Heaven, or the Yang, and the latter of Earth, or the Yin. On both these occasions the victim was pre-eminently a bull, that offered to Heaven being red under the Chou dynasty and white in earlier times, while that presented to Earth was yellow with black lips.⁵⁴ Red was the color of fire, and yellow that of earth. The bull was carefully tended for several years, receiving fresh grass and beans, and being clothed in rich embroidery.⁵⁵ He was the deity in bestial form and was slain by a human incarnation of the same divinity. The myths abundantly testify that this sacrificial death was supposed to be the prelude to a triumphant resurrection. It was the rite of the pagan dying god, the characteristic ceremony of Sumer, and the second step in the progress of human faith.

The religion of the Yin and Yang, like that of Ishtar and Bel, was economic rather than ethical. Its votaries sought for happiness on earth and not for bliss in heaven. They strove for the salvation of the state, not that of their own souls. The ruler of the empire of the flesh was hence the natural head of the empire of the spirit, and the whole duty of man was to be

a good patriot, as is the case today in Soviet Russia. But just as the emperor entrusted to ministers different executive duties, for which they were accountable to him, so Shang Ti ('The Supreme Ruler') had humbler representatives in charge of each natural force, or growing thing, or animal, or substance, or part of the human body, or function, or disease, or trait, or trade. Like feudal barons in the Middle Ages, these minor deities later obtained a certain independence. Sacrifice as a tribute was also introduced, and modified the recurrent martyrdom originally applied to minions as well as master. But in so far as Taoism remains a vital force, it still is based on death and resurrection, which is the Way of Heaven.

The two other religions of China are variants, not rivals, of the original creed. Confucianism is Taoism made somewhat rational.⁵⁶ Its founder declared that he had learned the ceremonies of the Chou dynasty, which were used in his time, and that he followed them.⁵⁷ It is true that he exalted Heaven and Earth into abstract forces and taught the emperors who sacrificed Shang Ti, in the semblance of a bull, to view him more as their Sacred Ancestor than as a nature god. But, as the soul itself is supposed to be made up of the Yang, or active principle, and the Yin, or passive one,⁵⁸ the difference is in external labels, not in essential traits. The worship of the ancestors of separate families is due to the growth of individualism, and goes back to the old belief that Heaven was the universal father, and Earth the primeval mother, and the still older tradition that all fertility was due to the totem with whom the dead were merged. Philosophers might give the rite a mystic interpretation, but to the rabble it was still the cult in which an androgynous deity of increase was slain and rose again.

Buddhism, borrowed from India in the first century of our era, has been harmonized with the two older faiths to form the Threefold Way. Though this foreign creed has been persecuted at times, its divinities now are worshiped in Taoist temples, and the converse is also true. The Taoist and Buddhist triads, which dominate these creeds, have different names and different outer forms, but there is little else to distinguish them, and their

heads have been combined to form a super-triad, Confucius, Buddha, and Lao Tzu, who are adored together.⁵⁹ After all, it is not a matter of vital moment whether the dead go to another world, exactly like the earth, or are reborn in this one. There was plenty of room in Taoism for the doctrine of reincarnation, applied to men as well as to deities.

Thus China, like Sumer, depicts the second stage in the progress of paganism, the substitution for the sacred beast of a god in human form. And in spite of its myriad deities and devils, its faith foreshadows a third development, the waning of supernaturalism through the increase of reason, and the consequent cult of the hero. Just as the god is slow to free himself from the animal attributes of his predecessor, so the hero still retains the traits of a deity. And as the god sloughs off his bestial skin, so the hero gradually ungodds himself, becoming not a wielder of thunderbolts, but a human leader, praised for his personal attainments. Thus ethics becomes the rival of enchantment. Immortality is obtained not only by taking a pill or eating an apricot, but as a reward for exceptional services or peculiar piety. The natural result of such a trend is the final collapse of magic, and the replacing of the hero-god by a hero completely human. But sorcery is still a mighty power, and the cult of the ideal man is yet to come. It has no place in China's threefold faith, which is the Way of Heaven.

The Chinese deities raised to new heights the iridescent bridge by which they led to the Otherworld the souls of their worshipers. Indeed they reached the sky, though most of them were unable to remain there permanently. The last part of the bridge is a temporary construction. In other words, the sacrifice of the god is still preserved in cult, but is supplied with a new interpretation. Up to the year 424 B.C., a richly attired girl was annually drowned in the Yellow River, as the bride of its god, Ho Po,⁶⁰ just as in Babylon a victim, supposed to be Ishtar-Tammuz, was submerged beneath the waters of the Euphrates. In various cults to promote fertility, animal sacrifices of similar import continued for some time and indeed may

still persist in backward regions. But the prejudice against the shedding of blood, partly due to superstition and partly to economics, has resulted in a curious substitution. The door-gods and the kitchen-god still perish every year, and are replaced by new divinities, but it is only their pictures that are destroyed and re-created. And these images on paper are no longer regarded as proxies for the spirit of reproduction, but as messengers making their annual report to an omnipotent master whose dwelling is in the heavens. The ruler of the world has become an absentee landlord, but his agents keep him in touch with terrestrial affairs. Thus he is able to combine a wise and calm detachment with a complete comprehension of the progress of events.

This later concept is the logical outgrowth of such beliefs as had been held in Sumer. And just as the creed of the dying god had evolved from totemism as a result of political and economic progress, so the idea of an eternal sky-god ruling through dying godlets was the inevitable result of social changes in China. A series of able rulers early consolidated a loose alliance of city-states, like that of Mesopotamia, into a strongly centralized government, in which great feudal lords were the deputies of a mighty emperor. He was regarded as a divine monarch, the son and earthly representative of T'ien ('Sky'), the most primitive god of China. In the same way the kings of Sumer were looked upon as descendants of city deities, incarnating the power of procreation. A similar view was entertained in regard to their local lords by the people of every Chinese town, for the priest-king had inherited the functions of the totem and become the representative of his subjects, the projection of their desires, and hence the source of their prosperity. The only way of bringing about a successful consolidation was that by which the totemic clans had been welded into a tribe, the creation of a new cult which embraced the older ones, without impairing their strength, and which made the head of the new social unit more sacred than were any of his dependents. In China, and also in Japan, this was successfully done, and the hierarchy of the deities reflected the organization

of the state. Just as the emperor increased the sense of his augustness by remaining remote and inaccessible, only to be approached with elaborate ceremonials, and keeping contact with his realm through messengers and spies, so the supreme deity, whose viceroy and scion he was, remained far off in the clouds and there received the spirits of the lesser divinities who died and revived each year.

One of the consequences of this change was that for the Chinese the highest good became an established order, maintained by a wise dictator, and the greatest virtue became obedience. Another result was that the Otherworld was looked upon as a replica of China so that the soul broke through the rainbow bridge and plunged down again to the point from which it started. That is to say, it continued its interrupted existence, in surroundings which, although ethereal, were exactly like those which it had left behind, or it returned to earth, in another incarnation, and its new life was determined by the course of its previous existence. In the second case, it undergoes the fate of the dying god, as modified by the rise of ethics. And it has the hope that it may traverse at last those final arches, which seem as yet so frail, and, escaping from selfish desires, merge with the god of heaven.

It was due to this new philosophy that China produced no epics. Instead we have a continuous history beginning with the mythical emperors, who anciently were gods. Their stories, based on a ritual precisely like that of Sumer, are combined to form an ordered narrative which imperceptibly changes to a chronicle of actual events. And since the epic is the starting-point of all imaginative literature, the writing of fiction in China is still discredited. All serious creative work is philosophical and moral. There are plenty of fantastic tales, but in general they are related to supposedly historical happenings. Tradition discourages every flight of fancy, since it teaches that the individual is subordinate to the group and that new ideas are less desirable than the wisdom of past ages. Personality is inarticulate because it is regarded as unimportant, a momentary ripple on an eternal sea.

THE RAINBOW BRIDGE

The present political chaos of China is the natural consequence of the religious device which made her a centralized power when all the rest of the world was torn by civil wars. The only patriotism in Chinese eyes was loyalty to the emperor, the authentic son of Heaven. When he was dispossessed by foreign invaders, there was nothing to hold the different tribes together. And since foreigners were everywhere in control, the family, not the tribe, became the unit, exactly as had formerly been the case in the totemic clan. The ancestor took the place once held by the emperor, regarded as the lineal descendant of the father of all the Chinese, the rightful head of a family organization. Pride of race is as strong as ever, but it cannot be utilized by war-lords who seek for nothing but selfish aggrandizement.

Thus, through the force of outer circumstances, the Chinese attempt to extend the rainbow bridge has failed, in the long run, to gain for its adherents the worldly prosperity which was its immediate aim, although it has produced an ethical code, based on humility, as noble in theory as the highest Christian doctrine. But as far as the chief deity was concerned, it did obtain a measure of success. He could not wholly free himself from the gross superstition which led to his advancement, and which forced the divinities who were his agents to suffer an annual death. But he himself crossed safely into Heaven and obtained immortality.

Chapter IV

THE QUEST OF IMMORTALITY

They reckon ill who leave me out;
When me they fly, I am the wings;
I am the doubter and the doubt,
And I the hymn the Brahmin sings.

The strong gods pine for my abode,
And pine in vain the sacred Seven;
But thou, meek lover of the good!
Find me, and turn thy back on heaven.

EMERSON

PRIMITIVE religion was intensely practical. It concerned itself primarily with the world and with the flesh. Since every occurrence was attributed to supernatural causes, the very existence of the people was supposed to be dependent upon the control of spirits by magic spells. The priests, or medicine-men, enforced a moral code, not because they believed the righteous would go to heaven after death, while the wicked would be condemned to eternal torture, nor because they thought that virtue was intrinsically better than vice. The effective argument for leading an upright life was that wickedness — that is to say, violation of taboos — would be promptly punished on earth through physical misfortunes, while observance of the prescribed rules would bring prosperity. This basic idea was retained in Sumer and in China where religious rites were intended to benefit bodies, not souls, and life on earth was regarded as more important than life in the world to come. But south of the Himalayas, a different idea grew up. Through priestly influence, a successful worldly career became, to the devout, a matter of no importance. Though the social duties of a householder were insisted on in Brahminism and in Hinduism, the essential thing was to acquire merit, through asceticism and prayer, and so to raise the soul to a higher plane till eventually it was freed from human passion.

Then, having acquired all knowledge, it could escape from the Wheel, the endless succession of rebirths, and, immortal and unchanging, employ eternity in mystic contemplation.

What was true of men was also true of gods. They were not looked upon as eternal beings who had always enjoyed the same powers. They won immortality, and the gifts that went with it, by means of magic rites. But this is not as much of a new conception as it at first appears. Shang Ti and Bel-Marduk were gods from the beginning, protectors of the peoples who adored them, and incarnated in their kings. But it was only by sacrificing themselves that they were able to create the world and to form men and animals and plants. And the sole means by which they were enabled to renew fertility each year was a repetition of their self-immolation. It was this act which made them useful to men. The earthly avatars of the gods of India were priests, and not priest-kings, but this in all probability was a late development, due to rivalry of castes. The deities themselves, as in China and in Sumer, represented the reproductive principles, the male element being sky or fire, and the female earth or water. And the way in which they gained immortality was by being sacrificed and rising from the dead. The basis of all the cults of India appears to be the rite of the dying god.

Aside from the age of the dawn, exemplified by the paintings and rock-carvings of the paleolithic era, the earliest civilization of India which has left historical traces is that of Mohenjodaro and Harappa in the valley of the Indus. As revealed by the recent excavations,¹ it is closely akin to that of Sumer, with which it was contemporary. The Indus Valley script gives definite linguistic evidence that the founders of these cities were Sumerians.² This script was the forerunner of Sanskrit, but no Sanskrit manuscripts have been discovered that are older than the first century A.D. A treaty between the Mitanni, the Hittites and the Egyptians, written in 1350 B.C.,³ gives the names of Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and the Nā'satya and, on the basis of this, the hymns of the *Rigveda*, the earliest record of the Hindu faith, have been provisionally dated a century before

it,⁴ though some Indian writers would make them more than twice as old, thus assigning them to the time of Mohenjo-daro.⁵ This is contrary to the theories of the linguists, for Sanskrit is an Indo-European language, and the dissemination of the races who spoke Indo-European is said to have taken place about 2000 B.C. The Indians believe that it was caused by a westward emigration of which the Sumerians were, perhaps, the foremost wave.⁶ If their opinion could be justified, it would strengthen the hypothesis that Sumerian is the most archaic form of Indo-European.⁷ But that is a problem for the philologists, and need not be dealt with here. The cults and myths of the Hindus, like those of the Chinese, will have to speak for themselves, regardless of the epoch when they originated, except in so far as this can be determined by comparative evidence.

The most primitive figure in the Hindu pantheon is the dual deity Dyāvāpṛthivī ('Sky and Earth')⁸ to whom six hymns are addressed in the *Rigveda*, while Pṛthivī ('Earth') receives but one and Dyaus ('Sky') none at all. The name of the deity of heaven is derived from *div* ('to shine'),⁹ while that of his female counterpart comes from *prath* ('to spread out'), and means 'the broad one.'¹⁰ The goddess represented water as well as the solid ground, for she is praised for sending down the rain and shedding the showers of heaven from the lightning of her cloud. She is also said to abound in heights, to bear the weight of the mountains, and to sustain the forests. Thus she corresponds to the Yin of China, which typified earth and water, and, in the form of the tortoise, upheld the universe and was the symbol of stability. Her husband, Dyaus, is spoken of as a bull, or a red bull, who bellows downward, and is said to be rich in seed. He is credited with generating Agni, the deity of flame, and also Ushas, the goddess of the dawn. He smiles through the clouds, but is furnished with a bolt, thus combining the sun and the tempest. He can be equated with the Yang, or active principle, who personified fire and lightning and the sun. The two together, as Dyāvāpṛthivī, were the primeval parents who made and sustained all creatures and begat the

gods by whom the world was formed, like the Chinese Yang and Yin, the Japanese Izana-gi and Izana-mi, and the Sumerian Apsū and Tiamat.

By the period of the *Rigveda*, Dyaus had lost his throne. His name was a common noun denoting the region of the upper air. It is used in that sense about five hundred times, while in some fifty cases it has the meaning 'day.' ¹¹ The deity who had superseded him was a dual god both of whose halves were male. As *Mitrā'varuṇā* he is celebrated in twenty-three separate hymns and in parts of several others, and his components are also praised, *Varuṇa* receiving a dozen hymns, while *Mitra*, like *Dyaus*, can only lay claim to one. But the conception of the deity remains unaltered under the new title. *Mitrā'varuṇā* represents the day-sky and the night-sky, light and darkness, the sun and the moon, fire and water, the Yang and the Yin.

The distinction between these heavenly twins is clearly enough set forth, though, as two aspects of the sky-deity, they show a number of common characteristics. *Mitra* and *Varuṇa* both have the sun for an eye, but the latter has a thousand eyes. By the decrees of *Varuṇa* the bright moon follows its path and the stars are seen at night and disappear by day. He embraces the nights and establishes the mornings. *Mitra* is said to produce the day, while *Varuṇa* makes the night. The fire-god *Agni* is *Varuṇa* at his birth, and *Mitra* when he is kindled. When the mountains are wrapped in clouds, it is *Varuṇa*, the god of the dark sky, who inverts the cask of heaven and pours out the life-giving waters. *Mitra* is asked to uncover in the morning what *Varuṇa* had concealed. The former has a white victim, while the latter receives a black one. The seven rivers descend into the jaws of *Varuṇa* as into a surging abyss. He presides over the west, and *Varuṇī*, the western region, is his daughter or his wife. On the contrary, *Mitra* is connected with the east, and calls all men to activity. As *Mitra* typifies light and fire, so *Varuṇa* does darkness and water. In the later literature he has become the deity of the sea.

In Sumer, the exact equivalent of *Mitrā'varuṇā* is the sun-

god Shamash¹² whose name signifies 'The Double Lord.' The two components of this dual divinity are Mitra and Barun or Varun.¹³ The former is the Semitic Nabū, the god of fertility and of life, whose name is connected with *nabū* ('to speak'), which recalls the cry of the three-footed Chinese sun-bird, the ancestor of the cocks who crow at dawn. Nabū was a son, or reincarnation, of Marduk, and the husband of Nanā, a form of Ishtar.¹⁴ This vocal god is analogous to the Mitra of the *Rigveda*, for one of the few distinctive attributes of the latter is that he brings men together, uttering his voice. The Sumerian Mitra was also called 'the god who makes ready the stylus,'¹⁵ and Nabū, his Assyrian avatar, was the patron of the scribes and the god of contracts, like the Iranian Mithra.¹⁶ Barun or Varun is the Semitic Malik, a sun-god who was the giver of life. As a common noun *barun* occurs with the sense 'cattle-stall,' perhaps because the deity of light was so frequently represented as a bull.¹⁷ The ideogram itself is an enclosure containing the sign for a bull's head written twice.¹⁸ Thus the Sumerian Mitra and Barun, like their Vedic counterparts, represent the revealed and the hidden sun, the bright and the dark sky, the god who died and his second self who was resurrection and life.

Above Mitrā'varuṇā was a higher, more abstract force which was known as Rta ('Order'), or the Way. It also signifies 'sacrifice' or 'rite.' In the *Atharvaveda* it is the second stage in the process of creation, and is said to have been produced by *tapas* ('heat'). The *Rigveda* declares that Mitra and Varuṇa are lords of Rta and light, and by means of Rta are the upholders of Rta. By striving towards Rta, Agni becomes Varuṇa. Rta gives the white, cooked milk to the raw red cow. The sun, with his twelve-spoked wheel, proceeds according to Rta, as do the dawns which arise from Rta's dwelling-place. Rta is the arbiter of morality, the even-handed dispenser of truth and justice.

This conception also is found in other lands. Its Chinese equivalent is *li* ('order, wisdom'), the third of the eight trigrams of Fu Hsi, represented by two full lines with a broken one between them. It is the symbol of fire, the sun, and

lightning.¹⁹ Doubled, it forms the hexagram *li*, which denotes firmness, correctness, adherence to the appointed path, the docility of a cow.²⁰ *Li* was the Immaterial Principle, thus corresponding to the Tao ('Way') which produced the Yin and Yang. In Sumer a similar ideogram is a corner wedge followed by two full lines, or horizontal wedges, which has the values LID, LIT, RIM. Its archaic pictogram represents the vulva of a cow, and the sign has the meanings 'cow' and 'way' and 'wisdom.'²¹ The deity who takes the place of Rta in the mythology of Japan is The Lord in the Center of Heaven, the unity which is behind duality, representing both the Divine-Producing Goddess and the High-Producing God.

The deity of the sky is also known as Sūrya. Ten hymns of the *Rigveda* are addressed to this divinity whose name is said to be derived from the root *sva*r ('to shine'), or rather from a lost root *sur* of which *sva*r is the later form.²² Sūrya is a son of Dyaus who was raised by the gods from the sea in which he had been concealed. He is also described as having sprung from Vṛtra, the antagonist of Indra, and as having been generated by Indra. His light in the sky is as the face of Agni, and he is the eye of Agni or of Mitra and Varuṇa, and was placed in the heavens as a form of Agni. Ascending, he rouses men to do their work. He is the soul of all that moves or stands. His path is prepared by Varuṇa. He is a bird that soars through space, a ruddy bird, an eagle. He is also a bull, and a white and brilliant steed brought by the goddess of the dawn. His seven horses represent his rays, his seven mares are the daughters of his car. He drives away darkness, disease, and evil dreams, and has the power to purge the sins of humanity. When invoked with Indra, he is called a slayer of Vṛtra. He sprang from the lap of the Dawn, but he was also her husband, as Tammuz was the son and spouse of Ishtar. He is all-creating, and upholds the sky. Like Mitra, therefore, he represents the deity of brightness, particularly of the rising sun. But, as a central figure, he has but a single myth, which relates how he fought with Indra, who conquered him and stole his wheel. This parallels the strife of Indra with Ushas, goddess of dawn, in which he shattered her car with

his bolt, and, like the Japanese myth of the sun-goddess and the storm-god, it is based upon a cult, the sacrifice of the sun and his subsequent resurrection.

Sūryā is also mentioned in a creation myth. A late Rigvedic hymn tells how the gods slew the giant Purusha ('Man') and formed the universe from his body. His head became the sky, his navel the atmosphere, his feet the earth. The four castes of mankind were likewise his creations, the priests being produced from his mouth, the warriors from his arms, the farmers from his thighs, and the servants from his feet. And he was the origin not only of the world, and of those who peopled it, but also of the gods, for Indra and Agni, as well as the Brahmans, emerged from the giant's mouth, his breath was changed to Vāyu, god of the wind, his mind to the moon, who is identified with Ushas and with Soma, and his eye to the sun or Sūryā. Purusha is said to be the Past and Future, to represent the death and birth of life. He corresponds to the Sumerian Bel, the god of fertility, who created life by cutting off his head, and to his Oriental equivalents, the Chinese world-giant P'an Ku, and the Japanese Izana-gi, whose breath became the storm-god and whose eye became the sun. Thus Sūryā is connected once again with the myth, and cult, of death and resurrection.

Another form of Sūryā is Savitr, who is sometimes ranked as an independent god. His name is derived from the Sanskrit *su* ('to generate, enliven, impel').²³ Eleven of the Rigvedic hymns are devoted to Savitr. He is the light of heaven and earth. Raising his golden arms, which reach to the ends of the world, he blesses and rouses all terrestrial creatures. He thrice surrounds the three bright realms of heaven. He banishes evil dreams, and makes men sinless. He also controls the waters and the wind. He is the ruler of all that moves or stands. He is called the child of the waters (*apām nāpāt*), a term which is usually applied to Agni, and also the Lord of Offspring (*prajāpati*). Prajāpati, becoming Savitr, created all that lives, and Savitr is said to be the only god who can bestow the gift of life. All this connects him with the rising sun, who mounts from death and darkness, reanimating the world. But he is also

extolled as the setting sun, and the hymns addressed to him were sung in a sacrificial ceremony.²⁴ He guides the dead to the dwelling of the just, and grants immortality to the gods and length of days to man. Like Varuṇa, he brings the night. Unyoking his radiant horses he gives rest to the wanderer. In the later literature, the west was assigned to him, thus again equating him with Varuṇa. Therefore he represents the solar sacrifice, the scapegoat who goes down to the Underworld, taking away the sins of men, and whose resuscitation causes fertility.

This sun-god of many appellatives is likewise known as Pūshan, a title taken from the Sanskrit *push* ('to nourish, to increase').²⁵ Pūshan is praised in eight hymns of the *Rigveda*, while he appears in two others as a dual divinity, in the first being joined to Indra and in the second to Soma. His car is drawn by goats instead of horses. He is the wooer of his mother, and the lover of his sister, as is the case with Sūryā and with Agni. This is characteristic of the sky-god in Sumer, China, and Japan. Pūshan is wedded to Sūryā, the feminine form of the sun. He is glowing and cannot be hidden. He is the lord of all that moves or stands. With his golden ships, which traverse the sea of air, he acts as Sūryā's messenger. He drives downward the wheel of the sun, and guides the souls of the dead. He is born on the distant way of ways, the distant way of heaven and earth, and goes and comes from both the beloved abodes. As the son of deliverance, he is invoked to purge men of their sins, and to make safe the path, banishing wolves and robbers, dispersing foes. It was to him that a sacrifice was made by those who were starting a journey. He is said to have found the king who was lost and closely hidden, and is asked to bring him back like a wandering beast. His goat conducts the sacrificial horse. He is the protector and creator of cows and horses, and the weaver of sheep's clothing. He presides over plowing, makes the furrow straight, gives the bride to the groom, and increases food and wealth. All blessings proceed from him. There could be no better example of the sun-god as the bestower of fertility. Yet he is more than a deity of light. His

sacred animal, the goat, is akin to Aja Ekapād ('The One-Footed Goat'), who is variously interpreted as lightning, the moon, and the sun,²⁶ and the dual deities Indrā-pūshaṇā and Somā-pūshaṇā appear to represent the sky-god as storm and sun, and moon and sun, the Chinese Yin and Yang. Pūshan himself has similar attributes. He is east and west, light and obscurity, sunrise and sunset, death and resurrection.

The children of Pūshan were the Nā'satya ('Saviors'),²⁷ also called the Aśvins ('Possessors of Horses')²⁸ and the Dasra ('Wonder-Workers').²⁹ They were more famous than their father, for fifty hymns are devoted to them. They are twins, whom nothing can divide, though born of different mothers, one being the child of the night and the other of the dawn. The *Rigveda* also alludes to 'the encompassing Nā'satya,' which suggests that, like Mitrāvaruṇā, they correspond to the whole expanse of heaven. Their car is golden, like the sun, and gives out a thousand rays. It has three wheels, like the crown of Nocha, the Chinese god of the sky. One was lost when they came to the wedding of Sūryā, who chose them as her husbands, though she was also their sister, and, as the feminine counterpart of Pūshan, may have been likewise their mother, just as Ishtar, bearer of Tammuz, was his sister and his wife. This complicated relationship is easily explained if the Nā'satya, as their name implies, represent the setting and the rising sun, the god of fertility whose sacrifice was also a Sacred Marriage and who renewed the world by rising from the grave. And such is, in fact, the rôle of these Sons of Heaven. They are besought to bless the bride with increase. They give to the wife of a eunuch a son called Hiranyahasta ('Golden-Handed'),³⁰ cause the barren cow of Śayu ('Sleeping') to yield milk, and supply the bees with golden honey. As guardians of immortality they preserve the worshiper from death and reward him with wealth and children. The decrepit Cyavāna ('Motion')³¹ was restored to youth by them, and made the husband of young girls. Kali ('Time')³² was similarly favored. They rescued the son of Viśvaka ('All-Pervading'),³³ who was like a lost animal. Rebha ('Crackling'),³⁴ stabbed and bound and overwhelmed

with waters, through their intervention was succored and revived, and they raised up Vandana ('Worship')³⁵ from a pit where he was hidden as if dead and buried. A more famous feat was their deliverance of Bhujyu ('Fire'),³⁶ the son of Tugra, begetter of the waters.³⁷ Abandoned in the midst of the ocean, or in a watery cloud, and tossed about in darkness, he invoked the Savors, who came to his assistance, cleaving the atmosphere in a flying ship. They likewise freed from darkness, and from a burning abyss, the Eater Secured by Seven Thongs, Atri Saptavadhri,³⁸ enduing the weakened sage with youthful strength, a deed which is also credited to Agni. It was said of Atri that when the sun was hidden, he found it and replaced it in the sky. Another deed of the Āsvins was putting a horse's head on Dadhyañc ('Producing Curds'),³⁹ who thereupon told them the secret hiding-place of the mead of Tvashtṛ, the vivifying Soma, which, with Ushas and Sūryā, they are besought to drink. These achievements, and others of similar character, are variants of a single vital act, the rejuvenation of the universe through the bringing back of the sun, a miracle brought to pass by the ancient formula of paganism, the sacrifice of a victim who was divine.

The Great Twin Brethren of Hinduism, described as sons of Pūshan, are also claimed by that deity as his fathers, since the fertility god begets his second self. Their sire is likewise said to be Dyaus ('Sky'), and Sindhu ('Ocean')⁴⁰ is mentioned as their mother. According to other statements, Saranyu ('Cloud'),⁴¹ the daughter of Tvashtṛ ('Creator'), bore them to Vivasvat ('Shining Forth'),⁴² who is also known as Āditya ('Son of Infinity'),⁴³ a title of the sun. They are said to dwell with Vivasvat, where Soma also abides. The seven sisters, who represent the waters, urge the wise Soma to follow the path of Vivasvat, and the prayers of that god facilitate the flow of the tawny Soma. It was to Vivasvat, the Sun, and to Mātariśvan, the Lightning, that Agni first appeared, and he is also said to have been produced as the sage of Vivasvat. This solar deity is best known by his children. In addition to the Nā'satyas, he generated Yama ('Twin'),⁴⁴ the offspring of Saranyu, and likewise

Manu ('Man'), a child of Savarnā ('Substitute'),⁴⁵ also called Chāyā ('Shade').⁴⁶ Yama and Manu are doublets of each other, for both are credited with begetting the human race. They are duplicates of the Nā'satyas, since like their father they represent the sun who dies and is reborn. Their myth is another form of the legend of Bel-Marduk, the god of fire and lightning and the sun, who cut off his head and so created man.

Manu, the father of humanity, was the founder of sacrifices, as Marduk was for the Mesopotamians and Hou-Ch'i for the Chinese. When he had kindled the fire, he made the first offering. This kindling represented the birth of Agni, who was established by Manu to be a light for all peoples. He likewise originated the Soma cult. In the *Rigveda* the worshippers offer Soma as Manu did, and pray that it will flow as it did for Manu. It is said that Soma was brought to him by a bird. Indra drank Soma with Manu Vivasvat. He drained three lakes of the Soma of Manu to increase his strength before the fight with Vṛtra. In Sumer, the strife between fire and water, exemplified in this conflict, is the crux of the Epic of Creation, which tells how man was made. And Manu, the ancestor of humanity, was similarly the hero of a deluge which, according to the Hindu account, destroyed all other creatures. He owed his own salvation to a fish. When the flood subsided he begot mankind by wedding his daughter, Idā,⁴⁷ the personified offering of milk and butter. She is elsewhere called the daughter of Mitrāvaruṇā, that dual divinity of the sunset and the sunrise, and is frequently represented as a cow. The natural conclusion is that Manu, who created fire, founded sacrifices, and wedded a sacrifice, was a sacrifice himself, a deity who died and rose again, like the revolving sun.

The name Manu resembles the Sumerian MAN, one of the titles of the sun-god Shamash. It also means 'brother' and 'twin,'⁴⁸ and may be cognate with MEN ('man'). Yama, ('Twin'), the doublet of Manu, corresponds to the Sumerian GAM, which with the determinative for gods is glossed by *Bel sha kippitu* ('Bel as the god of the two poles, i.e. the east and the west').⁴⁹ The Hindu Yama wedded his sister Yamī after Rta, or the sacrifice, had authorized the union, and thus became

the father of mankind. In the same way the Chinese Nu and Kua, the first created beings, who were also brother and sister, would not become man and wife, and engender humanity, till an augury drawn from the smoke of their sacrifice had shown that Shang Ti approved. Like Manu, Nu and Kua — or Nu Kua — were menaced by a flood when the god of fire contended against the deity of the waters. In cult, this combat was a sacrifice in which the victim represented fire, lightning, and the sun. Yama was such a divinity, for, according to the *Rigveda*, he was identical with Agni and with Mātariśvan, while the heavenly courser — that is, the sun — is said to be given by Yama. And like his Chinese and Sumerian analogues, Yama sacrificed himself, thus not only creating man but originating death and resurrection. Yamī calls him the only mortal. He chose death and abandoned his body. He passed to the Otherworld, preparing a path for many. He and Varuṇa are the two great kings who receive departed souls. Death is his path and his messenger, and he himself is Death. His emissaries are two dogs, one brindled and one black. They have four eyes apiece, and are pups of Saramā ('The Fleet One'),⁵⁰ a bitch belonging to Indra. Though she is the mother of all beasts of prey, she is credited with bringing back the cows which were stolen by the Panis ('Misers'),⁵¹ a myth which, like the releasing of the cattle which Vṛtra carried off, is equivalent to the freeing of the sun and of the beneficent waters — the restoration of fertility. These dogs of Yama are forms of the god himself, who also comes to fetch the dead, and have been accordingly interpreted as the day-sky and the night-sky, dawn and darkness, fire and water, sun and moon. In China they would be called the Yang and Yin, the sources of all life. They are the guardians of the path, but they are not to be dreaded, since Yama is implored to deliver the dead man to them, thus granting him health and happiness. They correspond to the rulers of Paradise, Savitr, who presides in the two lower heavens, and Yama, who controls the third and highest. As Varuṇa is greater than Mitra, so Yama surpasses Savitr, since the one is chiefly associated with the west and the other with the east. The Ender is more mighty than the Beginner, for

by his voluntary sacrifice of himself he creates the Creator in whom he lives again.

The origin of man is likewise ascribed to Agni, who resembles Yama in being the guide of the dead. As a common noun, his name means fire, or sacrificial fire. It is derived from the root *ag* ('to be agile').⁵² As the basic form of the Hindu deities, Agni includes them all, and surrounds them as a felly does the spokes. He is Varuṇa in the evening, and when he goes to the sacrifice, and he is also Varuṇa at his birth, though he is Mitra when kindled, and when he rises at dawn. Becoming Savitr, he passes through the air, and as Indra he illumines the zenith of the sky. He is identified, in one Rigvedic passage, with a dozen gods and five goddesses into the bargain. Another declares that he assumes the forms of different deities, and a third attests that he has many names. As a dual divinity, he is chiefly linked with Indra, though he is also united to Parjanya, another thunder-god, and receives a single hymn as Agnī-ṣomā. The parentage of this Protean god is variously given. He is the son of Dyaus and Pṛthivī or of Tvasṭṛ ('Creator') and the Waters. Together with the sun and the sacrifice he was produced by the Dawns, or by Idā ('The Sacrifice').⁵³ Indra-Vishnu begot him in making the sun and the dawn, or Indra was the sole author of his being, and generated him between two stones. Again he is said to owe his origin to the act of all the gods. A more prosaic account makes the fire-sticks his parents. But he also issues from the atmosphere. Conceived in the waters, he springs from an island of cloud in the form of the shining thunderbolt. The car of the lightning bears him. He roars like the thundering Dyaus or Parjanya. He was brought to the earth by Mātariśvan. He is likewise born as the upheaving sun, the celestial light that wakes at dawn. In the *Brāhmaṇas*, the setting sun is said to enter Agni who causes it to rise again by means of a sacrifice, and the poet of the *Rigveda* adjures the worshipers to kindle Agni that his wondrous brand may shine again in heaven. The victim of this sacrifice which caused a resurrection must have represented the god himself. Agni, like Yama, who was one with him, chose death and abandoned his body.

The exploits of Agni were not limited to restoring the sun, creating fire, and generating man. He was the author of all that flies or walks. He generated offspring in the earth and in woman as well, producing seeds and sons. He also formed heaven and earth, stretching them out like skins, as Marduk did with the halves of Tiamat. He was the father of all the gods, like Apsū. By his mighty deeds, he procured space for the gods, and freed them from a curse. Like Indra, he vanquished the Paṇis and slaughtered Vṛtra. He is the guardian of Soma, like Manu, Vivasvat, and Tvashtṛ, and the germ of all that exists. He reduces demons and sorcerers to ashes. As the flame of the burnt sacrifice, and of the funeral pyre, he carries offerings to the gods, and devours the bodies of the dead. Protecting his worshipers with a hundred walls of iron, he consumes their enemies like dry bushes. The man whom he upholds in battle wins plenty of food and cannot be defeated. He is the giver of rain and riches, and the remover of sin. Wisdom and prayer originate in Agni, who is the priest of heaven. All blessings come from him, as branches grow from a tree. He conducted the first sacrifices like Manu, who established Agni, and hence he represents the rituals whose observance is the key to happiness. He is the father of sacrifice, its ruler, and its banner, and thus the lord of immortality, which he confers on mortal men, and achieves in his own person. When he grows old and weak, he receives a new incarnation that is young and vigorous. Hence in those parts of the *Rigveda* which introduce the animal sacrifice he is invoked with the epithet Tanūnapāt ('He Who is Born from Himself').⁵⁴ Like Bel, the god of flame and fertility, and like the phoenix, the bird of fire and fortune, he renewed his flagging powers by a self-inflicted death.

One of the avatars of Agni who takes a leading part in the later literature is Prajāpati ('Lord of Offspring'), whose name is derived from the Sanskrit *pra-jan* ('to generate'), and *pati* ('husband, lord').⁵⁵ Prajāpati affords an excellent example of the way that gods are created. At first he is merely an appellation applied to Savitṛ, or Soma, but in the final book of the *Rigveda* he has become a separate deity, and has a hymn of his own,

in which he is invoked as the maker of heaven and earth, of the waters, of all that lives, and of the laws that govern men and gods. He is identified with Viśvakarman ('All-Creator'),⁵⁶ with Dakṣa ('The Increaser'),⁵⁷ and with Hiraṇya-garbha ('The Golden Germ').⁵⁸ In the creation story which supplanted all the others the water, wishing to have offspring, produced a golden egg by the action of *tapas* ('heat'). This hatched out Prajāpati. The first words that he spoke were the sacred exclamations *Bhuh*, *Bhuvah*, and *Svar* which became the earth, the atmosphere, and the sky. True to his name, this child of fire and water wished a less impersonal progeny, and this desire was not inhibited. But his children were a mixed lot. The good ones, managing to reach the sky, became divinities, givers of light and life, while the bad ones went in the opposite direction and became the Asuras, producers of darkness and death. Perceiving the evil nature of the latter, Prajāpati pierced them with darkness and overcame them.

The androgynous Prajāpati had two animal incarnations representing the paternal and maternal strains, the forces of fire and water. The first was the boar, an incarnation of Rudra, the wielder of the lightning, of his sons the Maruts, and of Vṛtra, the antagonist of Indra. It was the sacred beast of the Sumerian Tammuz. In China the boar-god is Chu Pa-Chieh who ruled the Milky Way and raped the daughter of the sky.⁵⁹ As a boar, Prajāpati raised the earth from the waters, as Marduk did when he vanquished Tiamat. He became a tortoise, however, when he wished to produce offspring. The tortoise is spoken of as the lord of waters, a position which it also held in China, and is likewise identified with the sacrificial cake, which was burned as a spell to produce fertility. Since Prajāpati, like Agni, performed the first sacrifice, one form of him apparently slew the other, thus generating life.

This sacrifice of Prajāpati, which caused his apotheosis, is the subject of two other myths. Like Dyaus, who lay with the dawn-goddess Ushas, Prajāpati attempted to assault his own daughter Rohiṇī ('The Female Red One').⁶⁰ To avenge this wrong, Rudra ('The Male Red One')⁶¹ lifted his deadly bow.

The sequel is variously given. The fierce god was bribed by being made lord of cattle and let the culprit go, or he discharged the fatal shaft, but healed the wound he made, or the trans-fixed Prajāpati was translated to the skies, where he and the other protagonists were turned to constellations. The old deity was slain by his younger incarnation, as Apsū was by Ea, and Tiamat by Marduk. In other words, he himself destroyed his debilitated body, and so regained his youth, after the manner of Agni.

The other version of the legend relates that Prajāpati, after making gods and men, created death. This grisly son pursued his father, who fled from him in terror, for one half of the god was mortal — hair, skin, flesh, bone, and marrow — though the other half — mind, voice, breath, eye, and ear — could never be destroyed. The threatened deity at last escaped by combining the earth and the waters to form a brick, and kindling on it the sacrificial fire which he personified. Through the strength of that ritual, he became immortal. Inspired by this felicitous example, the other deities also conquered death by putting on the altar of Agni the proper number of fire-bricks. The vanquished spirit of destruction entered a protest, however, and persuaded the gods to decree that, for the future, no man could obtain immortality till his soul had left his body.

The identity of Prajāpati and the sacrifice is indicated by another tale of gods, or Devas, and demons, or Asuras. The former sacrificed to one another, while their greedy brothers made offerings to themselves. Prajāpati, therefore, bestowed himself on his more altruistic offspring, and by this gift the sacrifice thereafter was reserved exclusively to the gods.

As the deified rite, Prajāpati took the title of Brahman Svayambhu ('Self-Existent Prayer').⁶² Brahman is derived from the Sanskrit *bṛh* ('to make fat').⁶³ Prayer and sacrifice, the reputed producers of increase, were synonymous terms in Sumer, and though in India they became distinct there too they were originally the same. From Brahman developed the masculine form Brahmā, which denotes the impersonal universal spirit,⁶⁴ the Tao ('Way') of China — when transformed into a personal

creator. The Tao under these circumstances became the Yang and Yin, the male and female principles whose elements were fire and water, the two constituents of Prajāpati. In ritual, their union took the form of a sacrifice, a magic spell to release the pent-up forces of creation. Thus Brahmanism, like Shintoism and Taoism and the religion of Sumer, evolved from the worship of a dying god.

Closely related to Prajāpati is Vishṇu who is celebrated in five Rigvedic hymns. His name is derived from the Sanskrit *viśh* ('to be active').⁶⁵ Vishṇu's most famous exploit, according to the *Rigveda*, was the taking of three strides with which he compassed all the earth. The first two of them can be seen, but the third is beyond the flight of birds or the comprehension of mortals. His footsteps are full of honey, and in them all beings dwell. The highest step is like an eye that shines in heaven. It is the chief habitation of the god, who abides in it with Indra. There are the many-horned, swiftly moving cows, of which Agni is the guard. In Yaska's commentary on Hindu myths, written about 500 B.C., the zenith is called *viśhṇupada* ('the step or place of Vishṇu'), but nevertheless he lived in his two lower steps, the atmosphere and the earth, for the characteristic epithet of Agni — *trishadhasṭha* ('having three abodes') — is also applied to Vishṇu.⁶⁶ Like Savitr, who is Agni when he traverses the air, he measures out the earth, an accomplishment also attributed to Varuṇa, who is Agni in the evening and at dawn. Varuṇa for his yardstick used the sun. Vishṇu computes not only space but time, for he sets in motion, like a revolving wheel, his ninety steeds each of which has four names, an obvious reference to the solar year of three hundred and sixty days. In this he resembles Prajāpati, the year, who wears away the lives of men and deities.⁶⁷ He is also called the germ of order, as is Prajāpati. The fish which delivered Manu from the flood is Prajāpati in the *Mahābhārata*, but Vishṇu in the *Purāṇas*, where Prajāpati, as the boar who raised the world from the waters, has also become an avatar of that far-striding god. Prajāpati is the creative form of Agni, who, when he lights the noonday sky, assumes the form of Indra. The latter divinity, like Agni,

shared with Vishṇu his highest step, and took vast strides with him for our existence. Vishṇu takes his three steps to succor man, and bestrides the earth so that humanity may occupy its surface. Thus, like Agni, he represents the creative principle embodied in fire, in lightning, and in the sun. And in his solar capacity his steps are sunset, dawn, and noon.

In the *Rigveda*, the steps that Vishṇu took, to create the world and man, are the basis of his being. He also is Indra's doublet, or ally, in the subduing of demons. On the whole, however, his rôle is not important. But in the later literature he is the greatest of the gods. A lotus that grew from his brow gave birth to Śrī, his wife, who presides over wealth and beauty. Another, that sprang from his navel, produced the four-headed Brahmā. His teeming brain engendered Śiva also. This sudden rise to supremacy is due to the fact that Vishṇu assumed the function of the dying god, becoming the sacrifice and the sacrificer. He won for the gods the wealth of the Asuras by offering up a boar which Indra had transfixed. The boar was Vishṇu himself, for another form of the story says that when the Asuras had overcome the gods they arranged to divide the earth. The vanquished deities, with Vishṇu at their head, asked that a pittance might be restored to them, and were conceded as much as their dwarfish leader could lie on. But the suppliants offered up that deity, and by this rite regained what they had lost. Vishṇu's three steps replace the sacrifice in still another version, where as much as he can compass with them is offered by the Asuras to the gods, who thus acquire the worlds, the *Vedas*, and speech. That they corresponded to death and resurrection is implied in the statement that each sacrificer must take three Vishṇu strides beginning with earth and ending with the sky. And in a fourth version of this incident, the death and resurrection are described. Vishṇu, having been acknowledged by the gods to be the sacrifice, became superior to them all, so that they could not slay him, which they had to do in order to conquer heaven. One day, when their intended victim was resting his head on his bow, the ants suggested that they might gnaw the string if somebody would make it worth their while. The

doers of such a deed, replied the gods, would be rewarded by the faculty of finding food and drink even in the wastes of sand. Pleased with the bribe, a million mandibles began the work of destruction, and soon accomplished it. At the snapping of the string, the ends of the bow flew apart with such force that they cut off Vishṇu's head. It became the setting sun and, in its fall, vanished beneath the horizon. The trunk was used as their offering by the gods, but the imperfect victim was not acceptable. It was not until the Aśvins, those rescuers of the sun, had replaced the solar head on Vishṇu's shoulders, that the sacrifice, thus reconstituted, had the desired effect, and enabled the gods to gain the sky and to become immortal.

The Aśvins of this account are merely doublets of Vishṇu, representatives of the force of a ritual. It is the slaying of the declining sun, in the form of an appropriate animal, that recreates the light of day, just as the death of the decrepit year brings to life his young successor. Vishṇu the Sacrifice, by cutting off his head, engendered the sun and fire. He died to resuscitate fertility, like the Babylonian Bel.

The *Mahābhārata* declares that Brahma, Vishṇu, and Rudra were three forms of Prajāpati, representing the creator, the preserver, and the destroyer, or dawn, noon, and sunset. The dying god has thus become a triad. As a rule, however, he is a dual being, the sacrificer, or destructive force, and the victim, who is the savior and generator. Rudra, who in this triad represents negation and death, is only allotted three hymns in the *Rigveda*. His name is usually derived from the Sanskrit *rud* ('to cry'),⁶⁸ though it has also been rendered as 'the red one' from a reconstructed *rud* with the meaning 'to be red.'⁶⁹ Rudra is described as the ruddy boar of heaven, the strongest of the strong, the great *asura*, or deity, of the sky. He wields the thunderbolt, and his lightning shaft is said to pierce the earth. He bears a mighty bow and a quiver of deadly shafts. He is besought to avert from his worshipers the missiles which destroy both cows and men. Yet in the early texts he is also a protector, and is called auspicious, the Sanskrit *śiva*, derived from *śi* ('to be favorable').⁷⁰ He is the father of the world. He causes

the streams to flow, and sends the rain. He is the greatest of physicians whose remedies raise up heroes, and cause his worshippers, with their sons and cattle, to be well fed and free from all disease. His name appears as an epithet, sometimes applied to Agni, but more often to the Āśvins. Rudra is Agni, according to the *Brāhmaṇas*. Another account declares that Ushas, goddess of dawn, bore to Prajāpati a son called Kumāra ('Easily Dying'),⁷² and that the infant cried, and demanded other names. So his father gave him the titles of the eight forms of Agni, consisting of Rudra ('Crying'), Sarva ('All'), Paśupati ('Lord of Livestock'), Ugra ('Fierce'), Āśani ('Lightning'), Bhava ('Birth'), Mahādeva ('The Great God'), and Iśāna ('Master'). A different version credits his origin to Manyu ('Wrath'), the only god who remained in Prajāpati when that deity was dissolved by the effort of creation.⁷³ Thus Rudra, sprung from the sacrificial rite, is the incarnation of fire, the element that sears and purifies, the deity who slays himself that he may rise again.

In the epics, Rudra is said to have been so named because of the fierceness which led him to devour the flesh, the blood, and the marrow. Rudra, however, is but a subordinate title of the god who is chiefly known as Śiva ('Auspicious'). As in the *Brāhmaṇas* he is also called Paśupati, Mahādeva, and Iśāna, but he has acquired further appellatives, Śaṅkara ('Beneficent'), Hara ('Destroyer'), and Kāla ('Black'). His terrible form is said to represent fire, lightning, and the sun, while his merciful one is water and the moon.⁷⁴ The double deity therefore corresponds to the Chinese Yang and Yin. He originated from a rite, having issued forth from Brahmā or sprung from the forehead of Vishnu the Sacrifice.⁷⁵ He lives where the dead are burned, the place which he selected as the most appropriate one for sacrifices. The ashes of the corpse are dear to him, and his symbol is a skull. But he is the lord of life as well as of death, for he created the world, and though, at the end of the appointed time, he will devour the universe, yet all that he thus absorbs is destined to be reborn.⁷⁶ He is thus the god of death and resurrection, like Vishṇu who begat him. And indeed the story of Vishṇu's sacrifice is told of Śiva, with certain variations. At

the end of the golden age the gods offered a sacrifice where the Ganges bursts from Mount Himavant. Prajāpati Daksha was in charge of the ceremony. The division of the victim among the gods had been determined beforehand, but Śiva had not been assigned a share. In anger, he grasped his bow and attacked the assembly of the sons of heaven. On his arrival, the mountains trembled, the wind died down, the fire was extinguished, stars, sun and moon were hidden, and the world was wrapped in gloom. The outraged god pierced the victim with his arrow. In the form of a hare it fled to heaven accompanied by Agni. Then Śiva turned on the remaining gods, tearing out Bhaga's eyes and breaking Pūshan's teeth and Savitr's arms. But the gods spoke a word which snapped the string of his bow, and thereafter managed to appease his wrath. Hurling his useless weapon into the sea, he healed his injured adversaries, and in return was awarded the melted butter as a part of the offering.

This is the familiar tale of the sacrifice, and subsequent resurrection, of the deity of light and fertility, in which the Destroyer is also the Creator, and indeed destroys in order to create. By putting out the sun and fire he obtains the power to reproduce them. Through a recurrent death he makes himself immortal.

The Rīgvedic Rudra, like Vivasvat, is famous as a father. By Pṛṣṇi ('Spotted'), the mottled thundercloud,⁷⁶ he begat the Maruts, the heroes, or males, of heaven, who receive thirty-three hymns and share in nine. They are so singularly like their father that they are known as the Rudras. Indeed they are merely repetitions of him, the two sons of the sky-god, who, like the Aśvins, are duplicates of their progenitor. Their name has been connected with *marīci* ('a ray of light').⁷⁷ Their paternity is likewise attributed to Agni, the triune god of flame, who was Rudra's prototype. The Maruts are also said to be self-born, like Agni, and to have the form of that divinity. They are particularly linked with lightning, having been generated by its laughter. They hold lightning in their hands and cast with it like a stone, or thrust with it like a spear, or shoot with it

like an arrow. Their cars gleam with lightning. They make the thunder and the wind, and their clothing is the rain. Bringing the darkness with their thunderclouds, they also dispel it, producing light and preparing a path for the sun. Their singing causes the sun to shine. With a song they created the might of Indra. They are companions of that thunder-god in all his various exploits, and occasionally play the leading rôle, for the cloud lets down its rain as well when pierced by the lightning of the Maruts as when transfixed by the bolt of the greater deity. Agni was always the same, whatever name he was called by. And the service which the Maruts did for him was doubtless that performed by Manu. They were the first to sacrifice as fire-priests, and they purified Agni in the shrine, where he was brought to life. Since they are forms of Agni who generate themselves they are like the other avatars of the creative fire, deities who were self-born because they were self-slain.

These various gods who were victims of themselves are all summed up in Soma, for in the *Rigveda* the Soma sacrifice is the most important rite. Soma is celebrated in a hundred and twenty hymns, and is also praised as a dual divinity compounded with Indra, Agni, Pūshan, and Rudra. The name is derived from *su* ('to press out, to extract').⁷⁸ The concrete Soma was a plant, unknown to our botanists, and also the alcoholic drink it furnished when its clarified juices, sweetened with honey, were mixed with milk or barley. Its Sumerian doublet was a honey-mead prepared from sesame, dates, or grapes, and used in sacrifices.⁷⁹ Its ideogram means 'strength of life.' With the determinative of deities it denotes the god of intoxicating drink.⁸⁰ In China, Hou-chi, the founder of sacrifices, introduced the distilling from grain of a form of mead which constituted an essential part of all offerings to the gods. It was made by brewing herbs with millet, and straining the dark resultant liquor till it was yellow, the color emblematic of earth. When pure it became identified with the strength of nature,⁸¹ the union of Yin and Yang. Its celestial equivalent was the magic liquor prepared by the Yin, or goddess of the moon, who braised herbs in a mortar and added heavenly dew, thus form-

ing a potion which nourished plants and trees and rendered men and deities immortal.⁸² In the ceremonial festival devoted to the bright liquor, the host and the principal guest typified heaven and earth, and their attendants were the expanding forces, or the Yang, which corresponded to fire, and the contracting forces, or the Yin, whose element was water. The Vedic Soma represented fire, for Soma, like Agni, is said to have three abodes to shine like the sun and clothe himself with its rays, to create the light and to put an end to darkness. Soma is also identified with the lightning, for he thunders and is called the thundering, unfailing stalk. He is brought down from high heaven by an eagle called Gāyatrī, a sacerdotal name for Agni. The eagle of heaven is Agni as the lightning.⁸³ And the reason for this descent is to make the waters pregnant. Soma is said to fertilize them, and thus to cause all increase. The joining of the yellow juice to the water which dilutes it is thus symbolic of the slaying of the fire-god, the act which was the germ of all creation. It is the figurative equivalent of the struggle of Marduk and Tiamat which was also a sexual union. And, since in Sumer and in China the number of fire was two, and that of water one, while three, their sum, was the number of wood, or growth, and of the moon, the planet of procreation,⁸⁴ Soma was also connected with the moon. It was regarded as the food and drink of all the divinities who by partaking of it became immortal, but caused the waning of the lunar disk. When it vanished, the recurrent miracle of the union of fire and water renewed it once again. Hence Soma was the soul of sacrifice, the Brahmā of deities. 'We have drunk Soma,' said the worshipers, 'we have become immortal, we have entered into light, we have known the gods.'⁸⁵ Like the totemic clan who ate their sacred beast, or the citizens of Sumer when they feasted on the fruit or animal incarnations of Tammuz, those who imbibed that magic draught were one with the rulers of their fates and could ordain their own prosperity.

The deity most closely linked with Soma is Indra, the greatest of the Rigvedic gods, the sole recipient of two hundred and fifty hymns and the partial inspiration of fifty others. As in the

case of Agni, he is a son of Dyaus. His sire is also known as Tvashtṛ ('Creator'), a title of the universal father, the creator of the world. His mother is Nishtīgī, otherwise known as Āditi ('The Boundless'), who also gave birth to Mitra and Varuṇa, and corresponds to chaos. In the later literature she is the wife of Viṣṇu, and the gods in general are said to be her children, specifically the solar Vivasvat who presided over Soma. She is called a cow, and Indra, the bull-god, is her calf. Her milk is compared to Soma, and, in the ritual, a ceremonial cow is addressed as Āditi. According to the *Atharvaveda*, however, the goddess who brought forth Indra was Prajāpati's daughter Ekāśṭakā, a name which signifies the eighth day after the full moon, especially of the month Magha, corresponding to January, and was personified as Śaci ('Might'),⁸⁶ who usually figures as Indra's wife. This suggests the cycle of the divinity who slays his father and mates with his mother. And the youthful prowess of Indra points in the same direction. On being born, he illuminates the sky. Scarcely emerged from the womb, he sets in motion the wheel of the circling sun, while earth and heaven shake with awe and the strong gods cower before him. At his birth he attacks and murders his father Tvashtṛ, to obtain the Soma, which is his soul and his bolt, and indeed his second self, for Soma, born for battle, overcomes a malignant father, acquiring by that triumph the swift bow and the thousand-pointed shaft with which he vanquishes his enemies. Thus at the very outset of their careers Soma and Indra parallel each other, and play the part of the fertility-god, the spirit of the new year, who, by destroying his older incarnation, the year that has just ended, achieves the strength to restore fertility.

Indra's acquisition of Soma, by which he wins his soul, and his immortality, is the subject of many stories. It is brought down to him from the highest heaven by an eagle who is the lightning form of Agni, and hence a doublet of Indra himself. The bird breaks through the iron fort of the skies, plucks the sweet stalk from the rock, and bears it with its foot to the wielder of the bolt, though the archer Kṛṣānu ('Bending the Bow'),⁸⁷ set to guard it, strikes the winged thief with his arrow.

A feather thus detached becomes a sacred tree while the drippings of the wound create the goat, an animal incarnation of the lightning. The myth depicts the relief of drought and dearth through the thunderbolt that rends the turgid cloud and precipitates the waters of the sky. In the *Yajurveda*, Soma is not stolen, but is bought by the gods from the spirits of the waters, the purchase price being a cow, a form which is often employed to signify a cloud. Indra is not concerned in the transaction. But in the *Brāhmaṇas* the ransom of the Soma is the goddess Vāc ('Speech'), the cow who gave birth to the gods, as well as to the *Vedas*, and who was both the mother and wife of Indra. Soma, moreover, is known as *vācas pati*, which may mean 'lord of speech' or 'husband of Vāc,' and is likened to the milk of Āditi, another name for Vāc. In this connection, she is the thundercloud which holds the rain and lightning, for Sarasvatī ('Abounding in Waters'),⁸⁸ a variant form of Vāc, is described as an iron fortress whence flows a fertile flood. When the gods performed a healing sacrifice, the Aśvins and Sarasvatī, by means of speech (*vācā*) gave Indra strength. Still another myth of the winning of the Soma relates that the Aśvins put a horse's head on Dadhyañc ('Producing Curds'), son of that Atharvan, who was the first to worship fire and to sacrifice with Soma. Dadhyañc then told them the place where Tvashtṛ had hidden his mead. This may refer to the ritualistic custom of mingling Soma with curdled milk, and also to an animal sacrifice intended to bring down rain. Indra is said to have found the bones of Dadhyañc in Śaryānāvāt ('Reedy') — a figurative name for a Soma-tub⁸⁹ — and with them to have slain ninety-nine Vṛtras. He prepared himself to slaughter Vṛtra by drinking three cups of Soma pressed out by Viṣṇu, the Sacrifice, or three lakes of it, the property of Manu, who like Atharvan founded the cult of fire and was the first to make the Soma flow. Manu received it from the eagle, as Indra also did. Soma is likewise prepared by Trita Āptya ('The Watery Third').⁹⁰ Trita's maidens urge the tawny drop that Indra may drink of it, and the secret place of Soma is by Trita's pressing stones. Yāska declares that Trita is Indra in three abodes, earth, the atmosphere, and the sky, thus

corresponding to the three forms of Agni. Indra's three draughts, and the three vats of Soma employed in the ritual, are also emblematic of the triune god of fire, and likewise of the moon, which represented the union of fire, whose number was two, and water, whose number was one. Soma was also created by Indra all alone, without the intervention of other gods. Soma, together with the sun and fire, shone forth when he had slain the demon Vṛtra, the dragon of the air, whereupon the victor chose it as his drink, made it his own, and became its king. But since Soma is also said to have conquered Vṛtra, sometimes with the help of Indra and sometimes unassisted, and by this deed to have gained the sun and light, freed the cows, and generated heaven and earth, like the Maruts he may be said to be self-born. In other words, Soma and Indra are two appellatives for the force of reproduction which periodically perishes and is ritually renewed by means of the sacrifice of a sacred victim.

Vṛtra, the chief antagonist of Indra, and of Soma, derives his name from *vṛ*, as Varuṇa does. He is 'The Great Encloser.'⁹¹ His mother is Dānu, who is compared with a cow. As a common noun this word, in the feminine, means 'the waters of the sky.' In the masculine, it is applied to the demon Vṛtra himself and to various other adversaries of Indra, while in the neuter it has the meaning 'stream.'⁹² Vṛtra takes the form of a dragon, or a serpent (*ahi*), who is said to have encompassed the rivers, or the waters, and to be the prison of the waters. But he also lies on the waters or is enveloped by the waters in the depths (*budhna*) of the spaces of air. He is thus identified with Ahi Budhnya, the serpent born in water, sitting in the depths of the streams and in the spaces. Now Agni is also called a raging serpent begot in the deep abyss of space. One of his titles is Apām Napāt ('The Offspring of the Waters'). Ahi ('Serpent') is used as another name for Vṛtra. He is said to fight with lightning, thunder, and hail, and those lightning gods, the Maruts, are described as shining like Ahi. The two antagonists in this Vedic battle are thus identical in nature, as in the Sumero-Babylonian Epic of Creation when Apsū was slain by Ea,

who was also the fire-god Marduk. In Sumer, as in India, the two protagonists represented both fire and water, the Yang and Yin, the male and female forces. Vṛtra is male, as lightning, and female, as the waters, and Indra also was hermaphroditic, for when he went to live among the Asuras he assumed the form of a male among the males and a female among the females. In his destruction of Vṛtra he was aided by the Maruts, just as Marduk was by lightning and the winds. When he pierced the monster he released the cows, caused the pent-up waters to flow, begot the sun, propped up the sky, and spread out the dry land. In a moment he generated heaven and earth, and caused the non-existent to exist. Or he separated the celestial regions from the terrestrial ones, and found the two worlds which were hidden, together with Soma, the honey accumulated within the ruddy cow. In the same way Marduk split Tiamat in two to form the firmament and the solid ground, and established the realm of the waters and the streams. He assigned their proper stations, to the sun and the moon and the planets as well as to the signs of the zodiac. Lastly he made mankind and established the rites of worship, like Manu who, according to Indra, was one of his avatars. In Sumer the myth is based upon a cult, the sacrifice of the deity of increase as both a male and a female divinity, one representing fire, the other water. In India the same thing must be true. The head and epitome of the Vedic pantheon is a god who slays and generates himself.

Another foe of Indra's is Viśvarūpa ('Omniform'),⁹³ who has three heads and six eyes, doubtless because he corresponds to the three incarnations of Agni. Like Tvashtṛ, he is merely another Vṛtra. This is true indeed of all the foes of Indra. One of these, Uraṇa ('Ram'),⁹⁴ who possesses ninety-nine arms, recalls the ninety-nine Vṛtras slain by Indra, and also the Sumerian Kingu, the victim and doublet of Marduk, who was sacrificed as a ram. Śushṇa ('The Hisser'),⁹⁵ who has a moving fort, the shattering of which sets free the waters, is merely a variant of Ahi, while Śambāra ('Cloud'),⁹⁶ with his ninety-nine forts, is the same confiner of waters, as is Vala

('Enclosure'),⁹⁷ whose castles Indra pierces, and Namuci ('Not Letting Go'), another of his victims. Dhuni ('Roarer') and Varcin ('Shining')⁹⁸ are metaphorical names for the brightly gleaming serpent of the air, the lightning demon who fought the lightning god. Of all these Viśvarūpa is the most interesting. His name is at first an epithet, applied to Indra's father. Then it becomes the name of a son of Tvasṭṛ, rich in horses and cattle, who is slain by his brother Indra, or by Trita. In the *Mahābhārata*, Viśvarūpa is identical with Vṛtra. According to the *Brāhmaṇas*, however, he is a deity, and when Indra cuts off his three heads, which are transformed into birds, he is denounced for the crime, and has to persuade the earth, the trees, and women to purify the stain by each assuming one third of his blood-guiltiness.⁹⁹ Tvasṭṛ, however, refuses to be mollified, and from the remains of Indra's Soma-drink he creates Vṛtra to avenge his offspring. The champion thus formed soon shows his qualities by mastering Agni and Soma, and becoming the fount of science, success, and fame. Hence the apprehensive Indra gets Agni and Soma to help him, by the promise of a share in the sacrifice, and thus contrives to overcome his rival. Having struck the fatal blow, he is consumed with fear, believing that it has failed in its effect. He flees from the battlefield till all his strength deserts him and enters the water, the growing plants, and the ground. The fertility-god slays the doublet of himself and restores the force of reproduction.

In China the regular offering consisted of wine or mead and a bull, a ram, and a boar.¹⁰⁰ Both the spirit and the victims were emblems of the god. In Sumer, after pouring the oblation, they slew some sacred beast, a bull for Bel, a ram for Kingu, a boar for Dumu-Zi or Tammuz, and thus symbolically slaughtered the deity himself. And according to the Vedic rituals the god was given to himself both as Soma and in the guise of an animal. In the *Atharvaveda* a bull is addressed as Indra, and in the *Brāhmaṇas* the bull is said to be Indra's form. The ram (Uraṇa) slain by Indra must also have been an incarnation of him, just as the ram was of Kingu. The

boar is frequently used in the *Rigveda* as a figurative designation of Rudra, the Maruts, and Vṛtra, while the goat is associated with Pūshan and deified as Aja Ekapād, one of the forms of Agni. As in Sumer, the ass was also a deity and apparently preceded the horse as the theriomorph of the sun. The horse-sacrifice, however, assumes the foremost place in the texts that deal with rites. Here the victim is definitely identified with the god.¹⁰¹ In the epic literature a horse-sacrifice recalls the vanished Indra, who, after slaying Vṛtra, is so appalled by his deed that he flees to the ends of the earth and hides himself in a lotus, causing the land to be barren, the rivers to run dry, and growing things to perish for lack of rain. The rite which brings back the fertility deity is the sacrifice of himself, which, in India, as in Sumer, was the cult of the dying god.

In Sumer and China the tendency to turn ritual into legend resulted in a pseudo-history in which the earliest rulers were deities. The Kings of Sumer who flourished before the Flood had an average reign of thirty thousand years and included DUMU-ZI or Tammuz. After this it is said that the kingship was sent down from on high.¹⁰² The mythical emperors of China were more moderate in their reigns, being content with a century or two, but the deeds accorded to them are cults disguised as chronicles. The Hindus, however, were not historians. Though their gods achieve immortality by the power of sacrifice, they are always something more than human beings. Even Manu hardly qualifies as a man. But the human and divine, at first so sharply distinguished, are brought together by the growing power of the priestly caste, the Brahmins. The Indian epics are full of stories of Brahmins who by austerity and sacrifice became as powerful as divinities, just as in China the Taoist priests frequently cross the threshold of the invisible world and dominate the strongest deities. The Brahmins claimed to be earthly gods and the controllers of heaven as well, through the virtue of their rites. And finally, about 500 B.C., according to the records, a typical representative of the priests, in the person of Buddha ('The Enlightened

One'),¹⁰³ also called Gautama ('The Greatest Ox')¹⁰⁴ and Śākyamuni ('The Sage of the Śaka Race'),¹⁰⁵ supplanted all the Hindu pantheon, and became the only ruler of the skies.

Theoretically, this should represent the triumph of the hero, forecast by Chinese myth, the final discarding of magic, the replacing of the god by the ideal man, the one form of divinity that the human intellect is capable of completely understanding. But superstition, so useful at the outset of man's distinctive development, could not be so lightly discarded. Buddhism, like Brahmanism, is the worship of ritual. Its end is spiritual, not economic, individual, not social. By following the way of heaven the devout initiate at last escapes from the Wheel, the endless series of rebirths which the worshipers of the totem were so anxious to continue, and his purified soul, having subdued the senses, becomes one with the Absolute, an immortality which is also the extinction of personal characteristics. The end is still a union with the creative force, the Chinese Tao which is both Yang and Yin, but it has become the Tao without a name, the Non-Being which, when it assumes a name, becomes the source of being. As the Chinese eventually perceived, Buddhism and Taoism have the same fundamentals. They are variant forms of the cult of the dying god.

Śākyamuni himself, if he was ever a man, which is by no means certain, has had divinity thrust upon him, a divinity which conforms in most respects with that of his Vedic predecessors. The Buddhist Pali Canon had recorded how he abandoned worldly rule for a life of prayer and privation, taught a growing group of disciples the tenets of his faith, and died at the age of eighty of an ailment brought on by indigestion. But its oldest texts set down mythological attributes which can hardly be accretions, so that the human details were probably introduced to rationalize a god. Thus Buddha is the son of Śuddhodana ('Having Pure Rice')¹⁰⁶ and the grandson of Saṃjaya ('Complete Control of the Senses').¹⁰⁷ His mother is Māyā ('Illusion').¹⁰⁸ Before his birth he had lived for centuries among the happy gods, and he takes the form of a six-tusked elephant when he descends from heaven

to enter Māyā's womb. Four spirits guard him before his birth, which his mother does not long survive. The coming into the world of the future 'Enlightened One' is fatal to Illusion. Her baby bears the physical signs of a Mahāpuruṣa, or World Spirit, his feet being decorated with wheel-shaped marks, his brow with a circle of white hairs that give out beams of light. To a Brahman who later questions him about these curious features, demanding what sort of creature he might be, the sage replies that he is not a god, nor a Gandharva, nor a Yaksha, but that nevertheless he is not a mortal man, since he has abandoned the world and is not moved by worldly considerations. At another time he asserts his power to change his shape at will. He declares that six other Buddhas have gone before him, and that he, in his turn, will be followed by the future Buddha, Metteya ('Possessing Friendship'), whose name recalls Mitra ('Friend'), the god of the risen sun. In his last illness, the Blessed One confides to his chief disciple that he can, if he wishes, prolong his life till the end of the cosmic age, but prefers to undergo a voluntary death so as not to exceed the span of human existence. And when he draws his last breath a miracle takes place. His body becomes transfigured and shines with brilliant rays, like that of a deity.¹⁰⁹

As Indra fought against Vṛtra, so Śākyamuni contended with Māra, the Vedic Mṛtyu ('Death'). This frightful fiend, with all his host behind him, assailed the blessed son of Śuddhodana when he was sitting beneath the Tree of Knowledge, where later he attained to Buddhahood. They rained upon him darts, and spears and mountains, but all these missiles were transformed into garlands. Baffled, the demon resorted to argument, and maintained that his former liberality entitled him to sit beneath the branches of learning in the place which Śākyamuni had usurped. But the Buddha-to-be appealed to the Earth, who decided in his favor, expressing herself so emphatically that Māra's troops were routed and the elephant on which their leader rode kneeled down before the Blessed One, who was henceforth called the conqueror of Māra, as Indra was styled the Vṛtra-Slayer. As a result of this victory

the tree and the *bodhi*, the knowledge which creates the Buddhas, became the property of Gautama, as the Soma of Tvashtṛ, or Vṛtra, was transferred to the triumphant deity of thunder. And in honor of that event the guardian of the tree, the serpent Mucalinda, covered the new proprietor with its coils.¹¹⁰

A doublet of this combat is the Buddha's subjugation of Rāhu ('Seizer'), the demon who swallowed the sun and moon, thus causing their eclipse and plunging the world in darkness. 'Rāhu,' said Śākyamuni, 'the moon-god has asked my aid. Let go the moon, for the Buddhas pity the world.' At this dread summons the cowed Encompasser released his prey, and thus restored the light.¹¹¹

In the *Mahāyāna* ('Great Vehicle') the Buddha is assisted, in his encounter with Māra, by Vajrapāṇi ('The Thunder-Handed'), just as Indra had the help of the Maruts in his attack on Vṛtra. Vajrasattva ('The Thunder-Hearted') is the head of the pantheon in the Buddhism of Thibet. Its founder Padmasambhava ('Lotus-Born') acts the part of Indra by routing various demons, and, departing to convert more distant countries, assumes the form of a horse, the sacred animal of that god in the period of the epics. One of the Yi-dam ('Guardian Deities') or Dharmapālas ('Protectors of Justice') is Hāyagrīva ('Horse-neck') who frightens the demons by neighing. And besides this representative of the male creative force there are various forms of his feminine complement, particularly the goddess Tārā ('Savior').¹¹² Philosophers, perhaps, may worship Buddha as the highest type of man, but to the popular mind the faith that took its name from him is the worship of earth and sky, the Chinese Yin and Yang, the Sumerian Inninī and Dumu-zi, the Semitic Ishtar and Tammuz.

This is also true of modern Hinduism, where Kṛṣṇa ('Black') corresponds to the Vedic Varuṇa, the darkness that gives birth to light. He is the avatar of Viṣṇu, the sacrifice. In the epics, Kṛṣṇa is killed when the sole of his foot is pierced by the arrow of Jarā ('Old Age'). He is thus equated with the dying god. His wife Rukmiṇī ('Adorned with Gold') refuses to survive him and perishes by burning. The *Mahābhāshya*

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(‘Great Elucidating’), written about 150 B.C., gives the other side of the story in telling how he slew his cruel uncle whose name was Kāṁsa (‘White Metal’) in a combat which is a ritual. Among the Buddhists, Kṛṣṇa is the leader of the black demons, the foes of Buddha and the imps of brightness.¹¹³ The feminine form, or Śakti, of the god assumes a prominent part in the erotic cults of Kṛṣṇa and of Vishnu.¹¹⁴ Rudra-Śiva’s feminine counterpart represents both gloom and splendor, or death and resurrection, and hence is called Kālī (‘Black’) or Durgā (‘Indigo’) as well as Gaurī (‘White’).¹¹⁵ Some of her other names are Devī (‘Goddess’), Pārvatī (‘Mountain Goddess’), and Umā,¹¹⁶ which may correspond to Sumerian UM (‘female, womb’).¹¹⁷ This type of the Yin is also perpetuated in the cults of mountains, waters, and trees. The Himalayan summit Nanda Devī is a form of Śiva’s wife, as is the Ganges River, while the figtree is the abode not only of Śiva but also of Brahmā and Viṣṇu, and the holy basil is wedded to Viṣṇu and to the infant Kṛṣṇa. Devī is also incarnated in the cobra, while Śiva is the sovereign of the serpents, just as Tammuz and Ishtar presided over snakes. The list of animal cults which the Vedas indicate is amplified by the inclusion of the dog, the rat, the elephant, the alligator, the ape, the cat, the tiger, the silkworm — no doubt a loan from China — and such specific birds as the peacock, crow, and hoopoe.¹¹⁸ For each there is a goddess and a god. But the deities, whose abiding-place is the fetish-stone of the village, are sometimes bi-sexual like Dyāvā-Pṛthivī. Bhūmīya (‘Belonging to the Earth’),¹¹⁹ the giver of food and offspring, belongs in this category. He is a throw-back to the earliest god, that divine hermaphrodite whose function was less to receive departed souls than to provide the living with food and children.

The contrast of China’s cults with those of India is partly due to Confucius whose enormous influence was used to suppress all speculation as to the future life and to restrain the scope of the supernatural. The Hindus have pursued the opposite course. But a still more vital cause of the divergence was the separation of Church and State, which had already occurred in the Rig-

vedic age. Temporal life was in charge of the Kshatriyas ('Endowed with Sovereignty'), the caste of the rulers and warriors, while the spiritual world was the domain of the Brahmans who performed the rituals. The latter, like the descendants of the storm-god of Japan, chose the invisible, leaving the outer shells to men of action. They devoted themselves to mysticism, magic, and metaphysics. Under these conditions, the function of religion became the exaltation of the soul and the conquest of the body and its desires. Thus the cult of the dying god, their joint inheritance, became for the Chinese a governmental means of providing for the future by the worship of the past, while the Hindus made of it a priestly way of escaping from a crass reality by annihilating the flesh, and finding a heaven where there was nothing.

This divergence in religious development was not due to racial distinctions, but to the very different history of these two neighboring countries. Both in China and in India the dominant desire was for order and stability. The deities of all ranks of society were carefully defined so that the business of life could be carried on with the minimum of friction. Religion was a common-sense arrangement for governing the unaccountable by means of sympathetic magic, which was the only way it could be dealt with at this stage of human knowledge. But in China there arose a strong centralized state whose people prospered abundantly for many centuries. The emperor was the religious head, the only man who could sacrifice to Shang Ti, his heavenly ancestor. The result was that the stories about the gods were transformed into tales of prehistoric monarchs. History took the place of myth. In India, on the contrary, there was constant civil war and the land was overrun by a series of foreign invaders. The Kshatriyas failed to safeguard their territories, and life and property were always in jeopardy. Hence the natural trend was towards romanticism, since the romantic escapes from harsh realities by taking refuge in a misty world created by his imagination. India, therefore, produced no histories, but instead created epics regarding the deeds of divinities who were more or less humanized. The incidents of these

epics were largely based on cults, especially on the cult of the dying god, who, in his apotheosis, became the ruler of an airy kingdom which was not like the earth, but better. In this realm it was believed that those who conquered self would be rewarded at last. Another way out was to maintain that sorrow and misfortune were illusions of the senses from which the sage could wholly free himself by turning from action to contemplation. The Chinese found life good, the Hindus found it bad. Therefore the Chinese clung to the past, the Hindus trusted to the future.

The natural result of the Hindu's habit of mind, created by a depressing environment, was that he tried to penetrate below the surface of things. The supernatural, therefore, strongly appealed to him, and he speculated endlessly on the nature of the gods, what it was that made them distinct from humanity. And naturally he centered his attention upon the sacrifice, which was the connecting link between men and deities. It was by sacrifice, according to his belief, that men succeeded in bettering their conditions. The natural supposition was that this was likewise true of supernatural beings, and that they obtained their power by becoming their own victims. Hence arose the belief that they had acquired their immortality by immolating themselves, an idea which is peculiar to India, for a god who renews his strength by death, as a mortal does by sleep, is not at all the same thing as a man who by self-annihilation becomes a god. The deduction, however, was perfectly logical, and it led in turn to a conclusion which had far-reaching results. What had been done once could be done again. The rainbow bridge might be crossed by human feet. The conquering of death was possible, if not for every man, at least for a Brahman of exceptional merit, who, turning from the temptations of the world, embarked on the quest of immortality. Through the practice of rigorous austerities during many existences, he might at last be merged with *Brahmā* or *Buddha*, the impersonal mind that ruled the universe.

As for the gods, they had mounted up to heaven as a result of that cosmogenic crisis which in Sumer made *Marduk* the sover-

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eign of the skies. In the earliest Vedic texts they are already enthroned in their lofty Paradise, divided from the earth-dwellers by all the depths of air. Even when, for their inscrutable purposes, they descend from that dizzy height and mingle with mankind, they retain the marks of their superior status. And the sacrifice offered to them has become an appeal for help, not an all-powerful spell, automatically renewing the forces of creation. Yet in the stories of Indra's battle with Vṛtra, of the descent of Fire, of Soma's birth, of Viṣṇu's beheading and of how Yama died, preparing a path for many, and in countless other tales of the deities, the older tradition is still preserved. The rainbow bridge by which the Vedic gods mounted from earth and obtained divinity sprang from the annual rite in which they slew themselves that they might set in motion the cycle of the seasons.

Chapter v

WORDS OF POWER

The wide-winged Eagle hovered overhead;
The Scorpion crept slowly in the south
To pits below the horizon; in its mouth
Lay a young moon that bled...

GEORGE STERLING

IN MESOPOTAMIA and in China the chief end of religion was the welfare of the body, while in India and in Egypt worldly prosperity was put in second place, and what the priests regarded as most important was the salvation of the soul. There were the usual sacrifices intended to promote fertility, but they were closely connected with other rites designed to frustrate the devils who lay in wait for the departing spirit and to bring it safely to the abode of the blessed. In India, where Church and State had early become divided, the Brahmans, not the rulers, were supposed to control the future, and it was only by following their example that each individual could raise himself in the scale till his spirit became a part of Brahmā or Buddha. But in Egypt, as in Babylon, the king was not only high-priest, but also the earthly viceroy of the god, whose actual offspring he was said to be. As an intercessor between earth and sky he ensured good crops, success in war, and a satisfactory birth-rate. But his most important function was to serve as the guide and protector of those who were newly dead, enabling his subjects to enter Paradise through the force of his own example. He was the hero both of the quest for food and of the quest for immortality.

In both these countries where religion assumed a more spiritual aspect, aboriginal blacks were subjugated by white invaders from the north. The conquered races practiced totemism, and hence, in their funeral rites, attempted by magic

to bring about the reincarnation on earth of the deceased clansmen; while the new arrivals, judging from the beliefs of the Chinese, the Sumerians, and the Semites, thought that the king at death was made the sovereign of an invisible world and given the power to regulate life on earth. He received his subjects into this new realm, where they followed their former pursuits. And the good fortune provided by the monarch during his earthly career was obtained through a periodic sacrifice in which he perished, usually by proxy, in order to rise again. That in Egypt and in India the strength of resurrection obtained by this ceremony should have been applied rather to souls than to seeds, may be directly attributable to the influence of the blacks, since to this day the Negro, while giving little heed as to what he shall eat or drink or wear next day, is deeply thrilled by the orgy of redemption.

The cults of Egypt appear to have been derived from the Sumerians, a people of the same racial type as the pre-dynastic Egyptians. Sumerians lived in Egypt before the time of Menes, and there, as in Crete, they appear to have introduced the sacrifice of a sacred bull, as well as the use of burned brick and copper tools and a hieroglyphic alphabet.¹ Moreover, the Egyptian name for the god of fertility was *Āsar*, the Greek *Osiris*, and this is probably cognate with *ASAR* or *ASARU* ('Bestower of Verdure'), which was the most archaic of the titles of *Bel-Marduk*.² The pictogram of *ASAR* was a throne and an eye, and the Egyptian hieroglyphic sign which represented *Āsar* also consisted of a throne and an eye.³ Furthermore, *Men*, the Greek *Menes*, the name of the establisher of the First Dynasty, is written in Egyptian by the picture of a crown, and *MEN* in Sumerian means 'crown' and 'king.'⁴ Such etymological similarities may be merely coincidences. Perhaps the Egyptians spontaneously evolved the cult of the dying god and their *Āsar* had no connection with the Mesopotamian *ASAR*, although the two races were in touch with each other, and the functions of *Āsar* and *ASAR* were the same. But considering that most of the other peoples who came into contact with the Sumerians adopted their deities and their

religious customs,⁵ it is probable that the Egyptians did the same.

The mock sacrifice of the king as a surrogate for the god was a regular part of the rite in honor of Bel-Marduk which was held in Babylon on New Year's Day. A still more obvious form of the ceremony was performed in the festival called the *Sacæa*. A prisoner condemned to death was dressed in the royal robes, placed on the throne, and made the absolute master of the Babylonian Empire. All his commands were obeyed, he ate and drank what he wished, and he was free to lie with the concubines of the king. But at the end of five days he was executed.⁶ The monarch, having perished by substitute, came to life in his own person, and thus obtained a prosperous year for his subjects and for himself.

In Egypt a modern survival of this cult occurs in the New Year's festival. Each town selects a temporary ruler who wears an enormous foolscap for a crown and carries a scepter equally imposing. All bow to the earth before him, the guard gives way, and the governor of the province resigns the throne in his favor. In these more clement days, when the masquerade is over, the man escapes alive, but his costume is solemnly burned.⁷

A form of this ceremony as old as Egyptian civilization was the great *Sed* festival which was normally celebrated every thirty years, the interval probably corresponding to the thirty days of the lunar month. Through this rite the king became Osiris, the deity of resurrection. He was wound in tight bandages, like a mummy, and seated in a shrine. In his hands were placed the crook and the flail which Osiris always bore. The heir to the throne performed a ceremonial dance before his supposedly deified predecessor. The royal princesses were in attendance to be married to the new ruler, and the jackal-god Anubis to open the way to the invisible world for the soul of the royal victim. This fictitious death resulted in the king's apotheosis through which he became the sacred ruler both of the living and of the dead, thus not only reviving the force of fertility, but promising each Egyptian a future life under the patronage of their exalted sovereign.⁸

The myth which lay behind this state ceremonial is nowhere fully stated by the Egyptians. The authors of the Nilotic religious texts took it for granted that everyone knew the story of Osiris. Therefore, the only existing accounts of the fate of this deity were written by foreigners. The fullest version is supplied by Plutarch.⁹ He tells us that Rhea (Nut), the goddess of the sky, was made pregnant by the earth-god Saturn (Keb). When the Sun (Rā), her husband, discovered this intrigue, he laid a curse on his unfaithful wife which prevented her children from being born in any month or year. But Hermes (Thoth), the god of wisdom, having also enjoyed Nut's favors, saved the situation by winning at dice from the goddess of the moon her seventieth portion of each day. The diminished days managed, apparently, to regain their normal length, but by piecing together the precious scraps of time lost by the lunar goddess, Thoth succeeded in adding to the calendar five days unknown in previous computations. On the first of these the birth of Osiris took place, whereupon a voice proclaimed, 'The Lord of all things is now born.' A certain Pamylen of Thebes, charged by an oracle to publish abroad the coming of Osiris, obeyed with such alacrity and zeal that Keb selected him as Osiris's foster-father. The phallic festival called the Pamylenia,¹⁰ was founded to do honor to Pamylen. Meanwhile Horus, who was sometimes called Apollo, was born on the second day. Typhon or Set saw the light on the third. He is said to have torn a hole in his mother's side and leaped out through the wound. On the fourth day Isis, who married Osiris, came forth, and on the fifth, Nephthys, who married Set. Isis and Osiris showed great precocity, for they enjoyed each other while still in their mother's womb, which calls to mind the Mesopotamian ASAR who was given to procreation from the beginning.¹¹

Osiris, born in full maturity, at once assumed the sovereignty of Egypt. He introduced agriculture, drew up a code of laws, and devised the fitting rituals of worship, just as Bel-Marduk did. Having thus established prosperity at home, he decided to tour the world conferring like benefits. Isis meanwhile

acted as regent. Soon after Osiris returned, he was slain by Set, assisted by Aso, an Ethiopian queen. He persuaded his brother to climb into a chest which was shaped to fit him exactly, and smothered him by shutting him inside it, thereafter throwing into the Nile the coffin thus prepared. This occurred on the seventeenth day of the month of Hathor (November) when Osiris was twenty-eight.

Isis, on hearing the news, lamented bitterly and set out at once in search of her husband's body. In this quest she received assistance from an unexpected quarter. Seeking comfort from her sister Nephthys, she found that the latter was wearing a *melilot* garland which was certain proof that Osiris had lain with her. Nephthys explained that he had thought she was Isis. She had borne him a son, but had exposed it for fear of her husband, Set. The only reaction of Isis which is recorded is that she went at once to look for the child, who turned out to be the jackal-god Anubis. Through the aid of certain dogs she succeeded in finding him. He at once informed her that the chest containing her husband's body had been washed ashore at Byblos in Syria, and that an Erica tree had grown about it so as to hide it completely. The king had been so struck with the size of its trunk that he had chosen it to form a column. The body of Osiris was thus enshrined in the central pillar of the royal palace.

To Byblos Isis immediately hastened. She seated herself by a fountain and spoke to no one except the queen's serving-maids. She offered to dress their hair, as this was an art in which she was specially skilled, and they accepted gladly, for not only did Isis make them more beautiful, but she also transferred to them the marvelous scent of her body. This was noticed by the queen and proved so winning a recommendation that she at once engaged Isis as the nurse of one of the princes. She gave him her finger to suck instead of her breast, and each night tried to purge him of mortal impurities by putting him to bed in the heart of the fire, while, in the form of a swallow,¹² she circled round the pillar, uttering mournful chirpings. But the queen entered one night and her exclamation of horror,

at seeing her child apparently burning up, deprived it of its immortality. Isis then explained who she was and asked to be given the pillar, which was promptly granted to her. She cut out the chest and restored the residue, wrapped in linen like a mummy and carefully anointed. It was set up in the temple as an object of veneration.¹³ Having recovered the casket, the goddess gave way to such vehement mourning that the younger of the princes was seized with convulsions which soon proved fatal. His elder brother did not long survive him. When Isis sailed for Egypt, his trusting parents allowed him to go with her. On the voyage Isis opened the chest, clasped the body of her dead husband, and broke into bitter weeping. The prince stole up behind her, to see what she was doing, whereupon she turned in a passion and gave him so deadly a look that he died of fright.

The corpse of Osiris was not yet to rest in peace. Isis placed the chest where she thought it would be safe, and went to visit Horus, her son. But Set, when he was hunting by moonlight, happened to find the body of his brother. He tore it into fourteen pieces, and scattered the fragments far and wide. Isis was therefore forced to renew her labors. Wherever she found a part of her husband's body she built it a special tomb. The phallus, however, she was unable to find, so she made a figure of it, which was used afterwards in ceremonies of commemoration.

Osiris later returned from the other world, first in spirit and then in flesh. His ghost induced his son Horus to avenge him. Horus therefore attacked his uncle and after a lengthy combat succeeded in taking him prisoner. He put his captive in the charge of Isis, who, moved by sudden pity, cut his bonds and set him free. The angry Horus tore the crown from her brow, and in the process decapitated his mother, but Thoth came to the rescue, and gave her the head of a cow. Set, meanwhile, worsted at arms, appealed to the courts, charging that Horus was illegitimate. Thoth again intervened, and succeeded in clearing his client. Set later made two attempts to seize the throne, but was defeated on both occasions. The com-

bat, of course, was ritualistic and constantly recurred. His victim was restored to life again for long enough to have by Isis another son, Harpokrates, born prematurely and consequently lame. It should be noted that lameness, in Sanskrit tales, characterizes the solar deity who is said to be without feet.¹⁴ Harpokrates is the re-arisen god, the source of all energy, especially connected with the sun.

A somewhat different version of the myth is given by Diodorus of Sicily.¹⁵ He says that the earliest men worshiped the sun and the moon. They called the first Osiris, the second Isis. These deities equitably ruled the world and established the three seasons — spring, summer, and winter.

Besides these celestial beings there were earthly divinities who were born as mortals, but, through their wisdom or the gifts they made to mankind, obtained immortality. They were kings of Egypt who had the same names as the undying gods. Some claim that the first monarch was Helios, others say he was Hephaistos, who obtained fire for men and thus gained the sovereignty. Then came Kronos, who, having married Rhea, his sister, begat Osiris and Isis, or Zeus and Hera.

Of the union of these two, five gods were born on the five intercalary days of the Egyptian year. These were Osiris, Isis, Set or Typhon, Apollo, and Aphrodite. The first has been called Bakchos or Dionysos, the second Demeter or Ceres. Osiris married Isis and, ascending his father's throne, did many things to help humanity. He abolished cannibalism and started the raising of fruit. Isis taught men to cultivate wheat and barley and to employ these grains in making bread. Hence she received an offering of first fruits. Osiris like Isis was fond of farming, for he had been brought up in Nysa, a town in Arabia Felix, where that art was highly esteemed. There he discovered the vine and, having learned how to grow grapes, he was the first to drink wine, that substitute for the *soma* of India.

In all this he was aided by Hermes (Thoth) whom he honored for his ingenuity. He invented writing, he formulated the sacred rituals, he devised arithmetic and sculpture and music,

he drew up a system of astronomy. He also originated dancing and all athletic games. He likewise made a lyre which had three strings — deep, medium, and shrill — corresponding to the three seasons.¹⁶

Thoth remained with Isis when Osiris departed upon his pilgrimage of civilization, but many other deities went along to aid him in advancing the growing of wheat and grapes. The leader of his army was his kinsman Herakles. His staff consisted of his brother Apollo (Horus), his two sons the jackal-god Anubis and the wolf-god Makedon, and likewise Pan (Menu) the goat-god. In Ethiopia they were joined by a troop of satyrs. After giving the natives instruction in tillage and irrigation, Osiris proceeded along the Arabian coast till he reached India. There he founded many cities including Nysa. He returned to Europe through the Hellespont, and in Thrace destroyed King Lykourgos who opposed his innovations. He made Makedon the monarch of the country which afterwards bore his name, and directed Triptolemos to undertake the introduction of wheat into Attica. Where the vine would not grow, he showed the inhabitants how to make an intoxicating drink from barley. And when he returned to Egypt he taught the people so many useful things picked up in his travels that they worshiped him like a god.

The manner of his death was at first kept secret by the priests, but the story gradually leaked out. He was killed by his wicked brother Typhon, or Set, who broke the body into twenty-six pieces and presented one to each of his accomplices, thus implicating them so thoroughly that they were forced to support him in his revolt. But Isis, assisted by Horus, took vengeance for that crime. When she had put to death the murderer, she herself ascended the throne. She had previously recovered all the parts of her husband's body, with the exception of the phallus, and round each of these she made a life-size mummy composed of wax and aromatic spices, entrusting it to the priesthood of some important temple, while protesting that it was the veritable corpse of her divine husband and was given as a token that their temple should be the principal seat

of his worship. She also told them to choose some animal that would serve as a representative of Osiris. They were to treat it like a god and bury it with sacred honors.

Isis did not marry again. Her reign was prosperous, and after her death she was numbered among the gods. She was credited with having invented various magic charms. With one of these she revived her son Horus when he was ambushed and slain by the Titans. Thereafter she made him immortal. He was the last of the gods who governed Egypt.

Julius Firmicus Maternus ¹⁷ tells a startlingly different story. He says that Isis, the sister of Osiris, was the wife of Typhon or Set. Her husband found out that Osiris had been her lover. So he entrapped him by a trick, killed him, and scattered his dismembered body along the banks of the Nile. Isis thereupon left him and, joining her sister Nephthys and the dog-headed Anubis, searched till she found all the fragments of her brother. She interred the reconstituted corpse with fitting ceremonies. Since Osiris had been a model of all the virtues (barring his little weakness regarding incest), he was treated as a god, and a figure made in his image was worshiped in the temples. His death and dismemberment was commemorated each year with tears and lamentations. His votaries in the fury of their zeal gashed themselves with knives to simulate the wounds which Set had made in the body of the god. When they had mourned a certain number of days, it was publicly proclaimed that the fragments of Osiris had been recovered and put together again, whereupon all their sorrow was turned to joy and carnival reigned supreme. And those who considered it barbarous to rehearse the hacking to pieces of a human being had rationalized the rite. They concluded that Osiris was the seed, Isis the earth, and Set the heat of the sun.

Maternus records another rite which also reveals Osiris as a deity of growth, and explains the tomb in the tree described by Plutarch. In the mysteries of Isis, a pine was felled and hollowed. From the pith the priests constructed a figure of Osiris. This was solemnly buried. At the end of the year it was dug up and burned, a new image taking its place.¹⁸ Thus

by sympathetic magic the force of fertility was annually infused into the soil.

As representing the force of generation, Osiris was worshiped with phallic ceremonies.¹⁹ The Tē column was his symbol and its raising typified the god's resurrection or rebirth.²⁰ The story, current as early as the sixth dynasty, that Osiris after death generated a son²¹ reveals him as a type of triumphant reproduction. Therefore his sacred animal was a bull, and Hathor ('House of Horus') was a cow and bequeathed her head to Isis.²² Yet Osiris, like Varuṇa, was closely associated with the setting sun and the west, while Horus, like Mitra, typified the rising sun and the east. Therefore Osiris was linked with the night and especially with the moon, the luminary of the darkness, which the ancients regarded as the source of growth. Plutarch says that Osiris was looked upon as the moon, and Typhon or Set as the sun, 'because the moon with her humid and generative light is favorable to the propagation of animals and the growth of plants; while the sun with his fierce fire scorches and burns up all growing things, renders the greater part of the world uninhabitable by reason of his blaze, and often overcomes the moon herself.'²³ The statements that Osiris was slain in his twenty-eighth year and that his body was split into fourteen parts may both refer to the cycle of the moon. The bull Apis, who is called the living soul of Osiris, is said to have been begotten by a 'ray of generative light which appeared from the moon and rested upon the cow, his mother, at a time when she was strongly disposed to generation.'²⁴ The monthly festivals of Osiris fall on the first day of the waxing moon and the first day of the waning moon. And the god is called *Āsār Āāḥ* ('Osiris the Moon').²⁵

Set, the opponent of Osiris, had likewise his sacred beast, or rather he had two. One of them is an animal a little like a donkey, but obviously unknown to the Egyptians.²⁶ It was probably the wild ass of Mesopotamia which typified the sky-god or the sun.²⁷ Set has been identified with the Hittite deity Sutekh and also with Bel-Marduk.²⁸ In the magic rite for resuscitating the latter, a pig was sacrificed and was said to

represent the criminal who had been killed with the god. The pig is the second sacred animal associated with Set. The Book of the Dead declares that Horus beheld him in this shape and that straightway a blast of flame seared his right eye. In the whirlwind of fire that followed, it was consumed. Rā explained the accident by saying that to Horus the pig was an abomination.²⁹ Herodotus says that what was true of Horus was equally true of all his worshipers. They held swine to be unclean and those who touched them had to purify themselves by swimming in the Nile. The only gods to whom the pig was offered were Osiris and the moon. Pigs were sacrificed to the latter deity at the time when the moon was full, and then the flesh was eaten, though at all other seasons it was utterly tabooed. On the evening of the festival of Osiris, every man killed a pig before his threshold, but gave the body, untasted, to the swineherd.³⁰ In all probability the victim thus identified with evil typified Set, the murderer of the beneficent god. In the same way the pig which was offered to Bel-Marduk appears in Assyrian times to have been regarded as the slayer of that deity, a dualistic conception which distorted the earlier meaning of the rite. For the boar that slew and devoured the sacred snake³¹ became its new incarnation, absorbing its *mana* or spirit. Similarly, in Egypt the boar that was offered to the moon at the time when its disk was brightest was the magical equivalent of that dispeller of darkness and source of fertility. The feast on the flesh that at other times was holy, that is to say, tabooed, made the worshipers one with the worshiped, and the deity, theoretically self-slain, was born again as the new god of increase. Therefore a sacrificed pig appears to have represented both Osiris, the creative moon, and Set, the destructive sun.

The waxing and the waning moon, the rising and setting sun, the day-sky and the night-sky, summer and winter, these are merely phases in the fertility cycle, or different forms of the god who dies and revives. Set and Osiris were said to be twin brothers who married their twin sisters, Isis and Nephthys. The latter is depicted opposite Isis in the same attitude,

mourning over Osiris. Her name means 'mistress of the palace.'³² She is merely a doublet of Isis who was the wife of Set in the account of Firmicus Maternus. Her son Anubis, according to some texts, was begotten by Osiris, while others declare that he was the offspring of Set.³³ Horus is said to have been brought forth by the two sisters, that is, by Isis and Nephthys.³⁴ And he seems to have been not only the re-arisen Osiris, but also the twin or counterpart of Set. In spite of their deadly combat in which Horus was deprived of his eye, or life, devoured by his adversary, while Set lost his genitals, or virility,³⁵ these deities appear to have performed precisely similar functions. In the text of Unas the spirit of the dead Pharaoh is transported to the heavenly palace belonging to Horus and Set. He restores the eye of Horus by spitting on it, and binds up the genitals of Set so that they grow again. Horus and Set seize the hand of the resurrected monarch. He stands up Horus, he sits down Set.³⁶ In the Tetà texts, Horus throws open the doors and Set withdraws the bolts. Horus who loves the king brings him his eye, and Set who loves him brings him his testicles. After Tetà has overcome the monster, with this divine assistance, the two protecting deities heal his wounds. Horus makes sound his body and Set makes sound his body. The pair are called the two Horus gods.³⁷ In the text of Pepi I the deified monarch sits in his domain of Horus and walks in his domain of Set. His stride is the stride of Horus, his word is the word of Set. Horus brings him in, and the heart of Set, the great one of Anu, makes friends with him. The sky-goddess Nut is said to have taken possession of Horus and become his great one of words of power, and to have taken possession of Set and become his great one of words of power. Pepi is perfumed with the *smen* incense and with the *bet* incense which are the saliva that comes forth from the mouth of Horus and the spittle that comes forth from the mouth of Set. He is then commanded to carry to Horus his eye and to Set his testicles, and he works magic on Rā in the place of the gods who live in the domains of Horus, who live in the domains of Set.³⁸ In the hymn of Hunefer, the scribe, we learn that

Thoth made peace between Osiris and the two Horus brethren, Horus and Set.³⁹ According to this testimony, if there was any distinction between Horus and Set, his foe, the former was the deity of the east and the latter of the west, the former was the begotten and the latter the begetter. Set, in other words, was Osiris, the dying god, and Horus was Osiris risen again. This is confirmed by the Book of the Dead in which the Soul exclaims, 'I am Osiris. I am Horus. . . Get thee back, Crocodile, I am Set. Get thee back, Crocodile, I am Osiris.'⁴⁰

Definite evidence that Set was a god who died and rose again is contained in this passage from the Pepi texts: 'Pepi hath passed his day under death, even as Set hath passed his day under death. Pepi hath passed his half-months under death, even as Set hath passed his half-months under death. Pepi hath passed his months under death, even as Set hath passed his months under death. Pepi hath passed his year under death even as Set hath passed his year under death.'⁴¹ Apparently the god is here equated with the sun and with the moon and with vegetation.⁴² And Set not only died but was dismembered, just as Osiris was. This took place when he had reigned for eighteen days and was commemorated by an annual festival which lasted the same length of time.⁴³ As in the case of the rite of Osiris and of that ASAR who was Bel-Marduk, the ceremony must have represented not only the death of the god but also his resurrection.

The slaughtered pig, which indicates that Set was a doublet of Osiris, also throws some light on Isis, the sister and wife of Osiris, and the mother of Horus, his second incarnation. Diodorus declares that she corresponds to Demeter, the Greek goddess of the earth. That deity, after her daughter Persephone was snatched away by the god of the Underworld, acted as nurse to Demophoön, the son of the King of Eleusis. She anointed him with ambrosia and breathed sweetly upon him, but gave him no material nourishment and cradled him at night in the heart of the fire. The queen by interrupting this treatment prevented the child from becoming immortal.⁴⁴ After the disappearance of Osiris, Isis, at Byblos, treated the

prince in precisely similar fashion, according to Plutarch's narrative, though she not only prevented her foster-child from ever becoming immortal, but afterwards slew him and his brother also. Now the sacred beast of Demeter was the pig. In the festival of the Thesmophoria, pigs were sacrificed to her by being precipitated into subterranean caverns infested by snakes.⁴⁵ At Potniai, in Boiotia, there was an underground chamber into which a sucking pig was thrown as a sacrifice to Demeter and her daughter. It miraculously appeared again in Dodona.⁴⁶ This pig, that went down into the Underworld and afterwards ascended, represented the deity of fertility, the son and husband of Demeter whose sacred beast was a sow.⁴⁷ And in the corresponding rite practiced at Babylon the head of a pig was bound to the door of Beltis's shrine.

There is nothing, however, to indicate that the Egyptian Isis was a goddess of the sty, except the fact that she was the wife of Set,⁴⁸ who was pictured as a black pig, and who may have been represented by the pig that was offered to Osiris. But in point of fact she and Set were identical constituting a single bi-sexual deity, like Tammuz-Ishtar, Yang-Yin, and Dyāvapṛthivī. Just as Bel-Marduk's marriage to Tiamat was celebrated by a sacrifice in which representatives of the god and goddess were struck on the head and burned,⁴⁹ so in their cult the union of Isis and Osiris was fatal both to bride and groom. The old gods perished in begetting new ones. And just as Ishtar, after slaying Tammuz, went down to the Underworld and brought him back, renewing vegetation, so Isis kills her son and husband and brings them back to life, thus ushering in the spring.

In the complicated story told by Plutarch, Isis has nothing to do with the death of her husband, unless, as seems not unlikely, Queen Aso, who conspired with Set, is Isis in disguise. But her later career is merely a succession of murders and resuscitations. As Nephtys she exposes her son Anubis, the opener of the ways, then, as the goddess of resurrection, she goes in search of him and brings him back in triumph. It was by sacrificing him and reviving him again that she tried to

make immortal the prince of Byblos, whose mother Astarte is Isis herself. When she opened the coffin of the dead Osiris and clasped his body in frantic grief, she raised him from the dead, though Plutarch does not say so. The bas-reliefs at Denderah depict Isis and Nephthys reciting words of power above the corpse of their brother and husband, and show how, when these spells had taken effect, the reanimated Osiris united with Isis, who took the form of a hawk. It was thus that Horus was generated.⁵⁰

The dismemberment, or second death, of Osiris was brought about through the negligence of Isis, who left the chest where Set could find it. Again there was a search and a magic spell which restored to life the reconstituted god. In this case Horus performed the miracle by feeding his eye to the dead deity, that eye which Set had eaten. In the *Unâs* text, however, it is Set who is called upon to give Osiris life, after Isis and Nephthys had made his body strong. The particular service that was requested was that he would produce from his flesh a bone that was made of iron. This was needed for a tool with which to open the mouth of the dead Osiris in order that he might eat the eye of Horus.⁵¹ A further link is thus established between Set and his deadly foe, since the lodestone was the bone of Horus,⁵² and that reincarnated Osiris was called the lord of the forge-city Edfu, where on his anvil he shaped the disk of the sun,⁵³ corresponding to the uræus which came forth from Set.⁵⁴ Horus was armed with a spear composed of iron of the god, as well as with a massive chain of that metal. His followers were blacksmiths.⁵⁵ Another lord of iron was Baba, the first-born son of Osiris, who was the god of the phallus. The blood that fell from his nose produced the cedar, which is a symbol of immortality. He was personified in the mythological beast associated with Set, and his name is one of the titles of Set. Yet he was slain by Set, who cut off his phallus,⁵⁶ the fate which he suffered himself at the hands of Horus. According to one myth, Osiris, the father of Horus and Baba, was begotten by blood that was shed by Râ when he sheared away his own genitals.⁵⁷ In the Chapter of the Deification of

Members of the Body, the phallus of the deceased king is identified with Osiris.⁵⁸ It was precisely this part which was not found when Isis fitted together her husband's dismembered body. Isis is said to have extracted the seed of her dead husband, and thus to have conceived Horus.⁵⁹ The animating eye, the iron bone, the uræus, and the phallus are divers symbols of the setting sun, whose essence in the womb of earth begot the rising sun. But in the cult this symbolism was carried out in grim earnest. Diodorus declares that the kings of Egypt sacrificed red-haired men at the sepulcher of Osiris.⁶⁰ Undoubtedly these victims were chosen because their ruddy locks suggested the glow of sunset. Plutarch, quoting Manetho, says it was customary to burn human beings called Typhon and to scatter their ashes like grain.⁶¹ Apparently victims were also offered representing the waning moon. At Karnak, Horus is depicted killing a bound hare-headed human figure before the bier of Osiris.⁶² At Denderah a similar victim is shown tied to a stake and pierced with knives before Osiris of the West.⁶³ In China and India, and probably also in Egypt, the moon was regarded as a hare. However this may be, the proxy of the god perished in the same way as Set and Baba. One of the ceremonies in the funeral rites of Osiris consisted in breaking up the earth with a strange iron implement which suggests the one with which Horus opened the mouth of Osiris. The broken earth was mixed with the blood of a victim, and afterwards sown with seed-corn. The book of Am Tuat says that on these occasions the enemies of Osiris — no doubt regarded as forms of Set — were first beheaded, then shorn of their genitals, and finally burned to ashes.⁶⁴ The natural interpretation is that by offering the earth his organs of generation the representative of the god was supposed to make her fruitful, begetting his new incarnation. It was through the consummation of his marriage with his sister Isis that Osiris died.

The sinister side of this goddess of love has been discreetly veiled not only in the story of Osiris, but in the account of how Horus met the fate which no fertility-god could possibly escape. The *Metternich Stele* ⁶⁵ declares that after the murder

of Osiris, the usurping Set imprisoned Isis till she was freed by the aid of Thoth. That this captivity and release was a death and resurrection seems probable from the rôle of Thoth in subsequent events and from the fact that Thoth supplied her with a new head when she was decapitated by Set. The deity thus restored to liberty fled to the village of Persui at the edge of the Papyrus swamps, and seven scorpion-goddesses fled with her. Isis had hoped to take refuge there with a friend, a kinswoman of the ruler of the district, but when she arrived the door was shut in her face. Tefen, one of the scorpion hand-maids, was angry at this slight, and to avenge it crawled through the lintel-crack, stung to death the son of the dis-obliging dame, and set the house on fire. Isis, disapproving of such violence, restored the boy to life, and extinguished the conflagration by summoning up a shower. She then entered the swamp and brought forth Horus on a bed of papyrus plants. Soon after she went to the city of Am to get food, and on her return discovered that the infant god had been killed by the bite of a scorpion. Though Isis had easily revived the victim of Tefen's zeal, she could not do the same for her own offspring. Her paroxysms of grief brought in the neighbors, but they were equally helpless. Nephthys arrived with the rest, and suggested to her sister that she should appeal to Rā. This Isis did with so much vehemence that the course of the sun was checked. The Boat of Millions of Years stood still in heaven, and Thoth came down to earth to supply the bereaved mother with the proper words of power. When she uttered them, the poison was expelled, and Horus rose from the dead.⁶⁶

This is another myth of many doublets. The haughty patrician lady, like the Queen of Byblos ('Papyrus'), is another form of Isis. Her son, stung to death by a scorpion in his ignited home, is Horus the Elder, god of the setting sun, who is slain in the burning west but, in the east, issues revived from his mother's womb. The scorpion emissary of Isis is that deity herself, as can be seen by comparing the other forms of the myth in which Isis cradles in the fire the royal baby of Byblos. Like Ishtar, who was a scorpion-goddess,

she slays her son and lover, thus bringing about his resurrection. She is also that Set who, in scorpion form, destroys the abandoned Horus, whom she then revivifies, assisted by the sun. Since, according to Diodorus, Osiris was the offspring of another Osiris and Isis, the career of his begetter is paralleled at every point by Horus. He was even torn to pieces like his father, and like his counterpart Baba, for Plutarch declares the dismemberment of Horus is one of the harsh and shocking things omitted from his account.⁶⁷ Like a typical deity of fertility, he is a victim of the Oedipus-complex, perishing through the bride who also is his mother.

Isis appears as a murderess in still another myth. This time her victim is Rā, who, in later times, like all the rest of the Egyptian gods, became identified with Osiris. The ambitious goddess wished to be the ruler of the world. To bring this about, she tried to learn the secret name of Rā, and thus to acquire his sovereignty. Knowing he would not willingly abdicate, by revealing this omnipotent word of power, she sought to gain her end by guile. The sun-god was old and dribbled at the mouth as he sat on the throne of the two horizons. Isis took some of the spittle and kneaded it with earth, thus shaping a poisonous snake. She placed this reptile precisely in the middle of the path that was daily pursued by Rā, with the result that the deity was bitten. In his agony, he cried out to the other gods for help, but Isis who had caused the injury was the only one who could cure it. She refused to relieve his suffering, however, until he had told her his rightful name. Since the pain was unendurable, he promised that his name should come forth from his body and go into the body of Isis. Whereupon the goddess healed him.⁶⁸ This myth, though it is late, conforms to the usual pattern. The goddess slays the fertility-god, and, by extracting from him the essence of his power, creates the deity who succeeds him.

For the death and resurrection of Isis herself it is necessary to go back to a more archaic time when matriarchy still flourished. Then the male god was of no more account than a groom is at a modern wedding. The deity who, in pre-dynastic Egypt,

represented fertility was partly male but principally female. Horapollo would have us believe that the sexes in this being, who was usually called Neith, were in equilibrium. He says that the Egyptians depicted Hephaistos (Set) by a scarab and a vulture, and Athene (Neith) by a vulture and a scarab. These are the tokens of life and death, of energy and rest, of the Yang and of the Yin. Like the Chinese, the dwellers by the Nile believed, says Horapollo, that the world was made of two elements, one male and the other female, and that this pair of deities, alone among their gods, shared the attributes of both.⁶⁹ Neith renewed her youth, or her virginity; in other words, she died and rose again. She is called the mother of Horus,⁷⁰ and hence is Isis-Osiris, with the male element reduced to a mere sperm-cell. The goddess had the power to cause her own pregnancy, as is made perfectly clear by the inscription in her temple. 'My garment no one has lifted up. The fruit that I have borne is the sun. I am the great productive mother of Rā who is a first-born child, and who is not begotten but brought forth.'⁷¹ But Rā was born anew each year and needed many mothers. He was the first-born son of a succession of victims who perished as representatives of Neith, 'the great lady, lady of the south, the great cow who gave birth to the sun, who made the germs of gods and men, the mother of Rā, who existed when nothing else had being, and who created that which exists after she had come into being.'

Neith, this Egyptian form of the Babylonian Ishtar-Tiamat, the mother of the sun and of all the gods, may have a Sumerian name which signifies 'fire of the moon' or 'fire of the year.'⁷² A light was always kept burning before her image, and she was honored annually by a great fire-festival, in which all Egypt was lighted by lamps that were filled with oil and salt.⁷³ The oil represented fire, and hence the male,⁷⁴ the deity of the phallus, while the salt represented the female. In the mysteries of Aphrodite, who, like Neith and Isis, is a variant of Ishtar, goddess of love, the initiates were supplied with a phallus and with salt.⁷⁵ The word *salt* itself is perhaps derived from SAL, which is the Sumerian word for woman and had for its sign a pictogram

of a womb.⁷⁶ Thus the ceremony of Neith depicted the annual rebirth of the vigor of the world through parthenogenesis. And the sacrifices to Set and Osiris establish beyond any question the fact that in more brutal times a boy and a girl, or corresponding theriomorphs of maleness and femininity, were put to death in a revolting fashion as representatives of the combining halves of this androgynous divinity. The two half-gods perished that there might be born a deity who was both male and female.

Neith is the prototype of all the Egyptian pantheon,⁷⁷ just as Apsū-Tiamat or Tammuz-Ishtar is the original source of the gods of Babylon. When her male and female functions were separated she was called the wife of Set. She was also confused with Bast,⁷⁸ the feminine counterpart of the fire-god Bes, an Egyptian version of Bel-Marduk, and with Sekhet, the wife and sister of Ptah, god of handicraftsmen and of workers in metal and stone.⁷⁹ One of the titles she bore was Nesert ('Flame').⁸⁰ The other fire-goddesses, Uatchet and Nekhebet, were also her avatars. The latter is called the father of fathers and the mother of mothers, and is said to have existed from the beginning and to have created the world.⁸¹ The cow-goddess Hathor, termed the progenitress of every god and goddess, is another version of Neith,⁸² who is also identified with Mut, the female deity of the watery abyss,⁸³ and with Nut, who in the New Empire was the queen of Amen-Rā.⁸⁴ Nut, like Neith, is said to have borne the sun-god each day. Nāu and Nāut, who constituted a single being, representing the day-sky and the night-sky, were also forms of Neith.⁸⁵ And her attributes were later taken over by a male deity, Khnemu-Shu, who is said to have been the begetter of himself, to have formed the gods, and to have created man.⁸⁶

The adoption of the patriarchal system increased the importance of masculine deities. The king was regarded not only as a descendant of the fertility divinity, but as his earthly representative, making Isis, the earth, fruitful. Therefore, in myth and in cult, the god eclipsed the goddess. Plutarch says that red cows were sacrificed to Set.⁸⁷ But in the ceremonies of the

'Opening of the Mouth,' when the monarch's departed spirit was exalted as Osiris, the victims were two bulls, doubtless representing the great twin brethren, Horus and Set.⁸⁸ Their hearts, while still warm, were touched to the lips of the royal mummy, previously enwrapped in the skin of one of the sacrificed beasts, whose bodies had been dismembered like that of Osiris.⁸⁹ Thus the strength of these gods of the two horizons was transferred to the dead Pharaoh, and his soul, undergoing an apotheosis, entered the other world as the masculine deity of death and resurrection, who formerly had been the goddess Neith.

As in the case of the similar ceremony in the cult of Tammuz-Ishtar, the basic purpose of the annual rite for resuscitating Osiris was the renewal of fertility. At the temple of Abydos the priests prepared a hollow figure of pure gold representing the deity. On the twelfth of the month of Khoiak, this statuette was filled with earth and barley. Nine days later the soil and the grain, which by then had sprouted, were removed and replaced by dry incense. The image was wrapped in linen, and exposed to the sunshine each day. When the final resurrection was celebrated, the figure which had been made the year before was laid on a bier and deposited in a shrine, the new one replacing it in the sacred tomb.⁹⁰ At Busiris the barley and earth were placed in the chamber of Shentit.⁹¹ Fresh water was poured from a golden vase over the cow-goddess and her garden, and the barley was allowed to grow, to represent the rising again of the god after his burial.⁹² At Philæ the divinity is pictured on his bier with a priest pouring water over him and plants springing up from his body.⁹³ But the most elaborate rite was the one employed in the festival at Tentyris. Fourteen moulds were made to represent the parts into which the body of Osiris had been subdivided by Set, and fourteen measures of sacred oil for piously anointing them, and fourteen holy amulets to guard them from evil spirits. The statue-mummy of Osiris, reconstituted the previous year, lay in a crypt with one entrance towards the east and another towards the west. It had been brought there through the western door.

The priests began the festival by composing the new statue. There was then a passion play, as in Babylon. Actors, who took the parts of protecting divinities, crossed over the sacred lake and placed about the statue which simulated the body of Osiris their powerful talismans. Then, on the thirtieth of the month of Khoiak, the figure which had functioned the previous year was carried out of the crypt by its eastern gate, which betokened resurrection. Thereupon the deity was restored to life by prayers which were magic spells compelling the soul of Osiris to enter into his image. By the opposite door the new statue was introduced into the empty crypt, there to remain until the year was done and then to be borne in triumph through the eastern aperture to symbolize the re-arisen god.⁹⁴

From the myths it is plain that Osiris's resurrection was regarded as a rebirth. In these ceremonies Isis is the soil, the dead Osiris the barley, and the re-arisen god the sprouting grain. But the begetting of the divinity was also interpreted in physiological terms. At Mendes a statue of Shentit, the local form of Isis, was brought into her temple, on the twelfth of the month of Khoiak, and stripped naked by the priests. Grain was then strewn on a bed in an inner sanctuary, made moist with water from a golden ewer, and kneaded to a paste which was used to fill the statuette of Osiris.⁹⁵ The new fertility-god of this ceremony was obviously regarded as having been begotten by the sexual union of Isis and Osiris.⁹⁶ The raising of the Tet, the emblem of Osiris, symbolized the act by which the dead deity caused his wife to conceive an heir. So did the rites of the Pamyliia in which ithyphallic puppets were borne about the streets. And in the episodes of the sacred drama depicted by bas-reliefs at Denderah, the god is shown supine on his bed of death uniting with the hawk which represented Isis.⁹⁷ A similar scene is sculptured on the lid of the black basalt sarcophagus of Osiris in the temple of Seti I at Abydos.⁹⁸ It depicts the god's most mighty exploit, the conquering of death through the posthumous engendering of a son in whom he lived again.

Thus it appears that all the cults of Egypt arose from the sacrifice of a deity who in dying begot the god of the new year. Terrestrially, he and his bride were fire and water, seed and soil, the Nile and the desert, the phallus and the womb. Atmospherically, they were the thunderbolt and the cloud,⁹⁹ celestially they were the sun and the moon. The Egyptians derived their religious ideas from the Sumerians, who were the first to substitute for the totem, killed and eaten once a year to bring good luck in hunting, an anthropomorphic god who regulated the fertility of fields and flocks and wives. The worship which they invented was adopted by other races and disseminated throughout the civilized world. Since the priest-king was regarded as the totem's true successor, and hence as the synthesis of all his subjects, he became the earthly representative of the forces of reproduction. He was therefore doomed to perish annually after consummating his marriage with the goddess of the earth. Good leaders, however, have always been difficult to find, so he perished by proxy, the actual victim being a sacred beast or a member of the community who could be easily spared, a slave or a criminal condemned to death. The god in human form was supposed to immolate himself, like the Babylonian Bel who struck off his own head, or to be destroyed by his theriomorph, like Horus when he saw the fatal pig, or to be slain by his wicked twin-brother, as was the case with Osiris. His death was followed by frantic mourning. This expression of popular grief combined with the traditional dirge, which was chanted by the priests, was supposed to revive the slaughtered deity or rather to bring him back in a rejuvenated incarnation, a son who was the father-god reborn.

Egypt, however, made certain changes in this imported creed. One of these was the introduction of dualism. This change had its beginning in Babylon, but there, in the epic combat between Bel-Marduk and Kingu, the destroyer was the beneficent deity, and the sacrifice of his doublet was not accounted a crime. Indeed it was an act of the highest virtue, since it freed the creative force of the universe. But among

the Semites of Assyria the slaying of the god became an impious act, and the shedders of his blood took flight to avoid the vengeance of heaven. Their African kinsmen, the Hamites, went much further. The sacrificer of the fertility-god became his antithesis, the incarnation of blight, darkness, and evil. The devil struck down the god in a ritualistic combat. His victim was born again and avenged the murder. But the devil also rose from the dead and, in the following year, repeated his crime in exactly the same fashion. This combat, eternally renewed, was annually enacted by a double sacrifice. A similar sacred drama was performed at the death of every Pharaoh to bring about the apotheosis of his departed soul, just as in other parts of Africa the totem-animal was often sacrificed at the grave of the tribal chief.

Another Semito-Hamitic contribution was the conception of the Otherworld as the permanent abode of departed souls. The modern races of central Africa and of South Africa think that the spirits of the dead come back to earth again in the bodies of their descendants. In the totemic stage of society this was the universal view. But the ancient Egyptians had a different notion. The second birth, which Osiris vouchsafed to men and women, was not on earth but in the land of the dead, to which this world was merely an antechamber. Osiris himself, when he was restored to life, became the ruler of the realm of shades, and it was there that the spirit of each dead Pharaoh assumed his sovereignty. Thus the dying god of Egypt revived in different ways. On earth he showed himself in the renewal of growth and propagation. But the true resurrection of the deity occurred in the *Tuat*, the Egyptian heaven. By this conquering of death he assured his worshipers that, if they performed the proper rites while living, and received the fitting offerings after death, they too would rise again and henceforth live forever in the spirit-land of heart's desire.

There was one further respect in which the Semito-Hamites materially revised the cult of the dying god. Tammuz was brought to life again by the laments of his worshipers. But the resurrection of Osiris was far from being the outcome of

spontaneous group-emotion. It was effected by the repetition of certain sacred formulas whose secret was transmitted by the priests. Thoth, the priest-god, communicates to Isis the words of power which resuscitate Horus, and brings to the dead Osiris the eye or life of his son. The frenzy of divine delirium was supplanted by the meticulous repetition of an unvarying ritual.

Nor was it only in the divine resurrection that the growing strength of the priests was manifested. They declared that the path to the *Tuat*, which every soul must traverse, was beset by many dangers. Much of the way was by water, and the ghost could not embark unless it knew the secret names of every part of the soul-boat.¹⁰⁰ Then, at one point, the boat always ran aground because the serpent *Āpep* had drained the river dry. Further progress could only be made by means of magic words, and a potent formula was needed to charm the water-engulfing monster.¹⁰¹ Later, the soul must journey through a vast forest which could not be penetrated unless the wolf-god, *Āpuat*, opened a way. Another spell was needed to secure his intercession.¹⁰² Then all advance was barred by the net of the catcher of souls, an obstacle which could not be surmounted except by the repetition of sacred countersigns.¹⁰³ Moreover, to enter the Judgment Hall of Osiris, one had to know the titles of the forty-two gods who were assembled there, and no one could gain access to the *Tuat* unless he had learned the names of its various gates, and of the divinities who guarded them.¹⁰⁴

If the soul had been well instructed in sacred matters, it was able to enter the Paradise of Osiris. But even there more troubles might await it. Osiris did not supply his guests with food, and hence the new arrival might perish of starvation, for ghosts were just as subject to death as gods. Or he might be enslaved by ancient enemies who carried their hate beyond the grave. And even if well fed and securely guarded, he might fail to obtain in the spirit-world the advancement he deserved. To avoid these various catastrophes, the family of the dead man invoked the aid of the priests. For a proper recompense, some

servant of Osiris would place a certain kind of wreath upon the face of the corpse, while, surrounded by the smoke of burning incense, he piously intoned the nineteenth chapter of the Book of the Dead. This spell would provide the ghost with plenty of food and enable him to conquer his enemies. But to make him a prominent citizen of the *Tuat*, a complicated service was required which involved a larger outlay. Four burning lamps whose wicks had been steeped in Lybian unguent, were held aloft by consecrated bearers. On the shoulders of each member of this quartet was traced the name of the special son of Horus whom he was representing, and at the feet of each was laid an earthen trough which, after having been dusted over with incense, had been filled with the milk of a white cow. When his lamp had burned the proper time, he quenched its flame in the milk, thus supposedly snuffing out the life of the god whose name he bore. Four amulets, two signifying life — a crystal *Tet* and a model of a palm-tree — and two symbolizing death — an image of Anubis and a simulated mummy — were set in the four walls of the tomb on bricks inscribed with spells. Then the one hundred and thirty-seventh chapter of the Book of the Dead was solemnly recited. Last of all, the mummy-amulet was smeared with bitumen and burned. Thus the soul of the deceased was fused with the spirits of the four sons of Horus, the gods of the north and east and south and west. In the corresponding royal rite the victims sacrificed represented Horus and Set, divinities of the rising and setting sun, or the waxing and waning moon. The expanded ritual had a similar effect. The dead man was identified with the dying and reviving Osiris, the lord of fruitfulness whose element was flame. And with such backing there could be no question that his career in heaven would be successful.¹⁰⁵

Thus to the primitive cult of the fertility-god the Egyptians contributed three new ideas. First, dualism, resulting from the fact that the annual sacrifice of the fertility-god was no longer viewed as a voluntary act but as a murder contrived by incarnate Evil. Second, resurrection in heaven substituted for reincarnation on earth. This prevented the heir of the throne from

being ousted by a rival who claimed that the soul of the dead Pharaoh had returned to life in his body, so it may possibly have originated as a political expedient, though the totem had also been the lord of the dead before the rise of the anthropomorphic god. Third, introducing the pagan equivalent of masses for the dead — those magic incantations, or words of power, by means of which the priests declared they could aid departed spirits in their journey to Paradise. These last two changes wholly transformed religion. It became not practical but spiritual, dealing less with how a man should live to prosper in this world than with what he should do that he might be saved in the next. And this brought about a result that was not anticipated either by priests or people. The Egyptians were fierce and cruel and overbearing. They were given to bloody sacrifices and barbarous mutilations. They credited the most monstrous superstitions. Their gods were half-animal incarnations of the forces of reproduction. Their sacred mysteries were obscene. Yet with their words of power they accomplished a miracle more wildly improbable than their most fantastic myth. Through their influence on the Semites, the Persians, and the Greeks, they caused the evolution of philosophy and ethics.

In Sumer and in China, the rainbow bridge led to another world exactly like the earth, and the death and resurrection of the divinities were the source of material prosperity. In down-trodden India the upward path was an avenue of escape from the evils of physical existence. The Egyptians, like the Sumerians and the Chinese, were convinced that life was good, because the strength of their rulers had made them rich and independent. By following in the footsteps of Osiris, of whom their Pharaoh was the earthly form, they hoped to gain in the Tuat continued gratification of the senses. The miracle which brought them prosperity on earth was supposed to give them a like felicity when they mounted to the skies. It annually absolved the living from sins, or infractions of taboos, and so permitted their blessings to continue. Similar magic, applied by the priests, could purge the dead of offenses which would normally have made them the prey of demons. The fewer their derelictions

THE RAINBOW BRIDGE

had been, however, the less need there was of employing priestly aid to shorten their road to bliss. Thus a virtuous career became a passport to salvation.¹⁰⁶ It only remained to determine what code of conduct was most pleasing to those lords of the Otherworld made by man in his own image.

Thus in Egypt the shimmering pathway of the gods, by which, through death and resurrection, they gained immortality and the power to help mankind, became a highway for the living. It guided dying deities and mortals to a realm of rest and ease, but it also conducted humanity in quest of a moral ideal.

Chapter VI

THE GLORY OF YIMA

Each Morn a thousand Roses brings, you say.
Yes, but where leaves the Rose of Yesterday?
And this first Summer month, that brings the Rose
Shall take Jamshyd and Kaikobád away.

Well, let it take them! What have we to do
With Kaikobád the Great, or Kai Khosru?
Let Zál and Rustum bluster as they will,
Or Hatim call to Supper — heed not you.

FITZGERALD

THE division of the supernatural forces into two rival camps, the deities and the demons, took place at an extremely early stage in the history of religion. Bel, who created men and beasts and plants by hewing off his own head, was succeeded by Bel-Marduk, who accomplished the same feat by slaughtering Kingu and Tiamat, the enemies of the gods. The Chinese P'an Ku, the Japanese Izana-gi, the Indian Purusha¹ are other deities who created life by means of self-immolation. But as in Sumer, so in China, in Japan and in India, this simple conception was replaced by the more elaborate one of a duel in which Creation conquered Destruction. In Egypt it is the beneficent god who is killed. Osiris meets the same fate as Tam-muz, dying and rising again. The combats of Horus with Set and of Rā with Āpep present the obverse picture, the victory of righteousness over evil, of plenty over scarcity. In all these countries, however the battle may go, there are definite sides engaged in an eternal struggle.

Nevertheless, the Persians were the first to frame a religious system essentially dualistic. The rivals in the myths of their predecessors were originally doublets. Tiamat was the mother of all the divinities, and her son Kingu was one with the god who slew him. In China and Japan, the strife is between Yin

and Yang, the twin halves of the Tao. The Indian Vṛtra is merely another form of the sky-god Varuṇa, who was Mitra's twin, and with him constituted a single deity. Thus Indra and his antagonist differed only in name. Set, the brother of Osiris, was a fertility-god, a masculine form of Isis, as was Osiris himself. In the myth of Horus, Isis takes his place. It is true that both Vṛtra and Set, in later times, were regarded as heading the hosts of death and evil. The enemy of the god became a fiend just as the foe of the hero became a villain. It was the inevitable result of that tendency towards anthropomorphism which in Persia made Angra Mainyu or Ahriman the antithesis, not the twin, of Ahura Mazda, the Creator.

The first inhabitants of Persia who have left any definite records are the Elamites, a people of mixed race, who occupied the valleys of the Tigris and Euphrates before the coming of the Sumerians. They were originally Negritos, but had received a considerable admixture of white blood from a northern stock of unknown origin. Their agglutinative language, like that of the Sumerians, was made up of ideograms imprinted on clay tablets. A few of the signs — for example, those which signify *tablet* and *total* — resemble the corresponding Sumerian pictograms, but their system of counting was different, being based on tens, not on sixes. The written language died out about 3000 B.C., replaced by the Babylonian cuneiforms. The religion of the Elamites was probably derived from the higher race that drove them into their mountain strongholds, since the divinities were arranged in triads, and the votive and dedicatory inscriptions, which have so far been deciphered, show no original features. Though the deities were called by different names, they were probably worshiped after the fashion of Sumer.²

About 1925 B.C., the Kassites, who came from the mountains of the Zagros, to the north of Elam, conquered Babylon and established a dynasty there which lasted six centuries. The chief god of this people was Suryash, the sun, whose name appears to be cognate with that of the Vedic Sūrya.³ It was probably at approximately this time that the Madai or Medes established themselves in Persia.⁴ The Sumerians also had

called their land MAD, a term which in their language meant a mountainous region, since its pictogram was a couple of mountain peaks.⁵ This influx of Nordics may, therefore, have been their kinsmen,⁶ and have come, as they did, from the high plateaus on the frontiers of China. But they were at a much lower stage of civilization than the Sumerians, or than the Semites, the heirs of Sumeria's culture. Although they had learned to cast bronze as well as copper, they had no skill in the arts. They were a pastoral people, and as keepers of flocks and herds they had made one important advance for, like the founders of Mohenjo-daro,⁷ they had added the horse to their list of domestic animals.⁸ If we may trust the testimony of Aristophanes, their favorite steed, however, was the camel.⁹ For their support, they were dependent on hunting and on the yield of their flocks and herds. They knew nothing of agriculture. And apparently they had no written language.¹⁰

Other races, possibly derived from Nordic stock, who appeared in southwestern Asia during the second millennium B.C., were the Mitanni and the Hittites. In a treaty between these Cappadocian races, made in the fourteenth century B.C.,¹¹ the Hittites invoked Teshub, whom the Sumerians called 'the Gladdener of Corn, Creator of Wheat and Barley.'¹² He was a thunder-god, corresponding to Enlil or Marduk.¹³ The Mitanni called upon Mitra, Varuṇa, Indra, and Nā'satya, deities of the *Vedas*. It is presumed that they were of Median stock, and that it was a branch of the same race who conquered the Punjab in India about 1600 B.C.¹⁴ But Mitra was a Sumerian sun-god, and the other sacred names have close etymologic parallels in the Sumerian pantheon.¹⁵ This indicates that these invading races either adopted the Sumerian gods or that they and the Sumerians both derived them from the same original source, the ancestors from whom they traced their common descent.

There is no mention of either the Medes or Persians till the middle of the ninth century B.C. At that time Shalmaneser II, King of Assyria, records the fact that he overcame their combined forces, in what is now southwestern Armenia.¹⁶ They seem to have entered southwestern Asia by way of southern

Russia.¹⁷ The next reference to them is a century later, when Sennacherib speaks of the Persians as occupying districts to the north and northeast of Susiana, immediately adjoining Persia proper.¹⁸ They were subordinate to the Medes, who looked down upon them as barbarians. According to the legendary tale regarding Cyrus the Great, which is reported by Herodotus, the Median king Astyages dreamed that from his daughter Mandane 'such a stream of water flowed forth as not only to fill his capital, but to flood the whole of Asia.' Judging from this that his daughter might bear a son whose career would be calamitous, he refused to allow her to marry a nobleman of the Medes, and gave her instead to the Persian Cambyses, 'of good family, indeed, but of a quiet temper whom he looked on as inferior to a Mede of even middle condition.' The story goes on to tell how Astyages commanded Mandane's baby to be killed, and how Spako ('Bitch'), the wife of the herdsman who had been told to expose it, persuaded her husband to let her have the infant instead of her own dead child. The life of Cyrus having been thus preserved, he eventually overthrew Astyages and established the Persian Empire,¹⁹ which was destined to endure for more than twenty-four centuries. This is a typical example of a myth masquerading as history. The actual Cyrus is here confused with the divinity of whom, as priest-king, he was the incarnation, and therefore figures as a dying god, like Tammuz or Dionysos. But this much truth lies behind the narrative that till the time of Cyrus the Medes despised the Persians.

The true Cyrus was King of Anshan,²⁰ a name for Elam ('The Highland'),²¹ the region directly to the east of Sumer. A tablet in the *Annals* of Nabonidus tells how the troops of Astyages revolted when he invaded Anshan and delivered him to Cyrus, who then captured Ecbatana, in 550 B.C., and so began his conquest of Asia.²² The civilization of the people who were exalted thus to be rulers of the ancient world, appears to have been borrowed from the Babylonian race with which they were so immediately in contact. Their writing was certainly so derived, for they used the cuneiform script introduced by the Sumerians and continued by their Assyrian successors. Their social

organization, their laws, and their architecture appear to have been drawn from the same source.²³ And, with certain modifications, the Persians appear to have adopted the religious ideas of Sumer, just as the Semites did.

The main document in regard to the Persian religion is the *Avesta*, a collection of hymns, discourses, and moral precepts compiled at various times. It is said to have been dictated to the sage Zarathushtra²⁴ who, according to some authorities, was born about 1000 B.C. But since his religion made little headway until the time of Darius, the view now accepted is that he lived from 660 to 583 B.C. The legend is that the sacred text attributed to him consisted of twenty-one books and was inscribed in golden letters upon twelve thousand ox-hides. On the fall of the Achæmenian dynasty it is said to have been destroyed except for a few fragments, and its reconstruction was not undertaken till the first century of our era. As it stands, it consists of one complete book dealing with penances and purifications, and three fragmentary books of hymns, much like the Sumerian psalms and liturgies. The portion called the Gathas is said to represent the actual teachings of Zarathushtra and his immediate followers.²⁵

But Zarathushtra himself is a legendary figure. He is said to have been begotten by the Glory of Yima, who corresponds to the Yama of the *Vedas*,²⁶ the god of death and resurrection. This Glory descended from the eternal light and entered into the mother of the Prophet, causing her to bring forth a son.²⁷ His father a priest of Haoma, the Indian Soma, had miraculously absorbed Zarathushtra's Fravashi or Spirit in a *haoma* plant. The powers of evil attempted to kill him, both before and after his birth, and one of the *Karapans* ('idoltrous priests') slew him at last before an altar in the midst of his disciples. The martyr left three germs in the world, deposited in a lake. Once in each millennium, a maiden bathing there will receive one of these and bear another prophet. The last will appear, with the Kingly Glory, at the moment when Angra Mainyu is finally overcome, and the golden age begins.²⁸ This is the ancient myth of the sacrifice and rebirth of the fertility-god, ex-

cept that the length of time between his incarnations has been multiplied by a thousand, and that he returns to deliver the world from sin and not to save it from starving. The old materialistic creed has been fully spiritualized, but the central rite is the same.

Besides the *Avesta* there are certain inscriptions of the Achæmenian Kings (558-330 B.C.), a number of commentaries dating from the Sassanian period (A.D. 226-641), many traditions in Pāhlavi or Parthian (which is Persian, as it was spoken before the introduction of Arabic), especially in the *Būndahish*, or 'Story of Creation,' and the evidence in regard to the cult of Mithra under the Roman Empire. There is also the testimony of foreign writers, such as Herodotus. And finally there is the *Shāhnāmāh*, or 'Book of the Kings,' a very extensive epic in Modern Persian by the poet Firdausī, who died about A.D. 1025. Thus, at the most conservative estimate, the documents cover seventeen centuries in the midst of which came the rise of Christianity which so profoundly modified the religious ideas of the world. The problem, therefore, is to strip away the later accretions and interpretations, and to find the essential form of this religion which is credited with introducing the theory of a dualistic world in which the powers of good and of evil contend for the mastery.

Since Zarathushtra, in the earliest sources, was regarded as a reincarnation of Yima, the myth of this god should serve as the likeliest clue. He is said to have been the son of Vivanghvant, who first offered to Ahura Mazda the sacrifice of Haoma. His Vedic doublet, Yama, was the offspring of Vivasvat ('Brilliant'), and brilliance appears to have been Yima's chief characteristic, for he is thus described in the *Avesta*:

Brilliant, and with herds full goodly,
Of all men most rich in Glory
Of mankind like to the sunlight,
So that in his kingdom made he
Beasts and men to be undying,
Plants and waters never drying,
Food invincible bestowing.
In the reign of valiant Yima

THE GLORY OF YIMA

Neither cold nor heat was present,
Neither age nor death was present,
Neither envy, demon-founded.²⁹

Ahura Mazda exhorted him to receive the faith and convert the world to it, but Yima declared that he was not ready to do this. As an alternative, he was instructed to increase the creatures of that deity and to be their guardian and protector.³⁰ By means of two magic golden objects, an arrow and a scourge, with which he scratched and stroked the soil, he caused the earth-goddess to bear small beasts and great beasts and men, and he also increased the world to twice its original size.³¹ Then, being warned that an evil winter was coming, he made an enclosure in which he gathered together the seed of small cattle and great cattle, of men, of dogs and of birds, and also the seeds of all edible fruits.³² He had previously created three fires, on the crests of mountains, to protect the land,³³ and he placed the seed of fires in his enclosure. Ahura Mazda then provided the Paradise thus prepared with special lights, since only once a year did its inhabitants see the rising and setting of the sun and the moon and the stars, so that they think a year is a single day.³⁴

Nevertheless this creative deity suffered a tragic fate. The nature of the offense which brought his downfall is variously given. In the *Gathas*, the sage Zarathushtra prays that he may avoid such sins as that of Yima who gave men meat in small pieces, the way in which it was offered to the gods.³⁵ This recalls the Japanese story of how the Great Land-Master was punished by the harvest-god for feeding his laborers on beef.³⁶ A late document makes the fault an unwitting one, declaring that Yima inadvertently presented meat to a demon.³⁷ Still other accounts represent his crime as a marital misdemeanor. He is said to have wedded his sister Yimak and thus produced mankind,³⁸ as Yama did with Yamī in India, and Fu Hsi with Nu Kua in China. In the *Bundahish* he takes a demon-bride and gives his sister to a demon-lover. The children of these unions were the tailed apes.³⁹ The accepted version, however, is less explicit and merely affirms that he turned from truth to falsehood.⁴⁰ Firdausi says he became presumptuous.⁴¹ As a punishment for

this misdeed, whatever it may have been, his Glory was taken from him, departing in three forms, corresponding to the three fires that he had kindled and to the germs like three flames left behind by Zarathushtra. The first was seized by Mithra, lord of broad pastures, the second by the hero Thraētaona who at the end of a thousand years was to conquer the evil demon and win back Yima's realm, and the third by Keresāspa, the champion who at the end of the world will slay the spirit of evil.⁴² This caused the death of Yima.

When he saw the Glory vanish,
Yima Kshaēta, noble shepherd,
Rushed he round, distraught and smitten,
By his foes on earth he laid him.⁴³

The conqueror of Yima was the serpent Azhi Dahāka, later, by popular etymology, supplied with the Semitic title of *Ḍah-ḥāk* ('The One with the Sarcastic Laugh').⁴⁴ This personage is a monster with three mouths, one for each of the three forms of fire — the sunlight, the lightning, and terrestrial flame — which in Yima, as in the Vedic Agni, make up his three sources of power, his triple Glory. It fled from him as a priest, as a warrior, and as a plowman,⁴⁵ corresponding to the calm heaven, the stormy atmosphere, and the productive earth. The Assyrian Bel-Marduk was likewise a deity of the triune energy of the universe and like Yima he perished in strife with a great snake. In its Assyrian form the Epic of Creation relates how he slaughtered Kingu, a doublet of himself, after entering the womb of Ishtar-Tiamat, the Great Python of the Deep, and how he divided that monstrous mother of all the deities into two halves, thus creating the earth and the sky. The blood of the sacrificed divinity, who was both the slayer and the slain, magically fertilized the universe thus fashioned, producing men and animals and plants.⁴⁶ Yima accomplishes the same miracle by scratching the soil with a golden arrow, thus making the goddess Aramaiti pregnant and doubling the size of the world. This is narrated in another form in the account of how he lay with his sister and thus begot mankind. Ishtar, the goddess of the earth and also of the waters, was the sister, the bride, and the mother of

the fertility-god. In the Assyrian ritual of Bel-Marduk or Ashur, a figure holding a snake, which represented the god, was wedded to a statuette of Ishtar. Afterwards both images were struck on the head and burned. This ritual, which was supposed to renew fertility through the death and resurrection of the male and female forces of reproduction, was held in Babylon on New Year's Day which came in the month of March.⁴⁷ Yima founded the feast of Naurūz, the Persian New Year's day, which coincided in date with the Assyrian rite.⁴⁸ In the later Persian texts Yima's opponent is an Arab king living in Babylon. In the *Avesta* he offers sacrifice in Bawrī ('Babylon') to Ardvī Sūra Anāhita ('The Wet, Strong, Spotless One'), a goddess of the waters identified with Ishtar. By this means he hopes to become the sovereign of the world and to exterminate men.⁴⁹ In the Assyrian redaction of the Sumero-Babylonian Epic of Creation the husband of Ishtar-Tiamat has the same lust for power, and wishes to slay the gods. Considering the known fact that Persian civilization was largely based upon Assyrian models, the parallelism in the myths of Yima and Bel-Marduk is best explained by the hypothesis that the Persian cult was derived from the Assyrian one which, as we know, was an inheritance from the Sumerian worship of the forces of fire and water, or sky and earth, corresponding to the Chinese Yang and Yin.

In Firdausī's epic Jamshīd ('The Shining Yima') is the Persian Solomon. He is called the builder of Persepolis, which, to this day, is termed the throne of Jamshīd. He is also said to have invented the arts and sciences, to have devised the solar year, and to have given wine to humanity, wine which, in the cults of Europe, replaced the sacred *haoma*. After a prosperous reign of many years, Jamshīd, puffed up with pride, declared himself a god. For this presumption the monarch was deprived of that emanation of power, the Kingly Glory. The gods then incited Zohak, a Syrian prince, whose name is a corruption of Azhi Dahāka, to attack the king thus rendered impotent. In vain did Yima attempt to elude this fearful adversary from whose shoulders grew a pair of hissing snakes. He fled from him

first to India and afterwards to China, where he was captured and barbarously slain, being sawed in two with the backbone of a fish.⁵⁰ According to another form of the story, the foe who thus put him to death was his wicked twin brother, Spityura.⁵¹ Here Yima suffers the same fate as Ishtar-Tiamat. And in the Assyro-Babylonian epic a doublet of Bel-Marduk's combat is the struggle in which Apsū, the god of the fresh-water ocean, who was Tiamat's first husband, was split asunder by Ea ('House of Waters'), whose emblem was a sacred fish. Bel-Marduk was generated in one of the halves thus created, as the lightning issues forth from the riven thunder-cloud. And Bel-Marduk was also known as Ea.⁵² Firdausi's version, therefore, gives further evidence that the fantastic myth of Yima, and the cult which lay behind it, originated among the Sumerians. It represents the chief rite of their religion, the sacrifice of the deity of increase that he might rise again and renew fertility.

A parallel of the story of Yima and Yimak is that of Māshya and Māshyōi. They began life in a plant. At first their bodies were united so that it was impossible to discover where one of them left off and where the other began. The plant grew into a tree, the fruit of which became the ten varieties of men. Then Ahura Mazda spoke thus to these Siamese twins: 'You are man, you are the ancestry of the world, and you are created perfect in devotion by me; perform devotedly the duty of the law, think good thoughts, speak good words, do good deeds, and worship no demons!' Thereupon they were released from their arboreal prison and went forth into the world. Extracting fire from wood, they roasted a sheep and offered the first sacrifice to the deity by whom they had been created. They clothed themselves with skins, but later learned how to weave cloth. They found iron, by digging a pit, and wrought the metal into an axe, by beating it with a stone. Pride in these achievements delivered them into the power of Angra Mainyu. They offered sacrifice to him by pouring out milk towards the north, the region which was his home. This brought a curse upon them so that for fifty years they could not have intercourse with one another. In the same way when Tammuz was sacrificed, the dark-headed people

turned from their begetting, and reproduction ceased till the time of his resurrection. When at last Māshyōi brought forth a pair of twins, the father devoured the male and the mother the female. This recalls the ritualistic eating of children incorporated in the myths of Kronos and Pelops and Cretan Dionysos, and reflecting the communal feast on the body of a victim who represented the god of fertility. Māshya and Māshyōi were punished by being deprived of tenderness for offspring. Nevertheless, they had seven pairs of twins, male and female in each case, and each couple at the end of fifty years had similar progeny. The original parents died at the age of a hundred. Among the seven sets of twins to whom they had given birth were Siyākmak and Nashāk, who in their turn produced another pair, Fravāk and Fravākain. These last were more fruitful than their predecessors, producing twins on fifteen different occasions. From their offspring descended the seven races of men. They increased so rapidly that the world became overcrowded. Nine races, therefore, crossed the sea Vourukasha ('The Wide-Gulfed') on the back of the ox Sarsaok, while six remained in the country of Khvanīras. The Persians were descended from Haoshyangha (Hōshang in Pāhlavi) and his twin sister Gūzhak, while Tāzh and Tāzhak begot the race of the Arabs, who were regarded by the Persians as their nearest ethnic kinsmen. As for the ten varieties of men produced by the Tree of Life, whence Māshya and Māshyōi came, they were the sort of monsters described by Mandeville.⁵³

Again, as in the case of Yima, the story of these twins is closely paralleled in the Assyro-Babylonian epic, though the family-tree in this case is not that of humanity, but that of the deities. The descendants of Apsū and Tiamat form a series of twin births, all of whom seem to be doublets of their parents. The Persian story leaves out the combat so prominent in the tale of Yima, but retains a suggestion of it in the statement that Māshya and Māshyōi, at the time when they fell from grace, exchanged blows and tore one another's hair and cheeks. It was then that they sacrificed to the powers of evil, and that generation ceased. The necessities of genealogy have distorted the

primitive myth. In the original, no doubt, the twins themselves were the victims and they rose again in *Sīyākmak* and *Nashāk*, thus not only restoring fertility, but promising to mankind a life beyond the grave. 'I will make for souls,' says *Jamshīd*, 'a path toward the light.'⁵⁴ In this he is like the Vedic *Yama*, the first of mortals who died, who chose death and abandoned his body, or passed to the Otherworld, finding out the path for many.⁵⁵ In spite of its distorted form, the myth of *Māshya* and *Māshyōi* is that of the twin deities of death and resurrection, who in Egypt were *Osiris* and *Isis*, and in Babylonia were *Bel-Marduk* and *Tiamat* or *Tammuz* and *Ishtar*.

Still another variant of *Yima* is *Gaya Maretan* ('Human Life'). He was the father of mankind and, at the resurrection, his bones will be the first to rise. At first, like *Māshya* and *Māshyōi*, he did not have human shape. For three thousand years he lived with the spirit of the ox. Then his body was formed from the sweat of *Ahura Mazda*, and he began his anthropomorphic career as a tall and brilliant boy of fifteen. For thirty years he fought the powers of evil, his greatest achievement being a mighty combat in which he slew the demon *Arezūra*. There is no record that *Gaya Maretan* committed any sin, but nevertheless he was doomed to be sacrificed. *Angra Mainyu* cursed him with hunger and disease, with poison and with plagues, so that he died. From his body, the metals were formed — gold, silver, brass, iron, tin, lead, mercury, adamant. But his seed was gold, and it made the earth-goddess pregnant so that she brought forth, under the form of a plant, *Māshya* and *Māshyōi*.⁵⁶ Again we have the sacrifice of a supernatural being whose death is the source of life.

Firdausī does not mention *Māshya* and *Māshyōi*, but makes *Sīyākmak* the son of *Gaya Maretan* whom he calls *Gayōmart*. *Sīyākmak* fights with demons, like his sire, and is slain by *Ahriman*, the earlier *Angra Mainyu*.⁵⁷ But he leaves behind him a son, *Hōshang*, who acts as his avenger, cutting off the head of his father's murderer and scornfully trampling his body.⁵⁸ *Haoshyangha*, the earlier form of his name, means 'King of Good Settlements.'⁵⁹ He lived on *Hara-Berezaiti*, the Mother

of the Mountains, on whose summit, bathed in endless light, was 'the Abode of Song,' the Paradise of Ahura-Mazda. On its high altitudes grew the *haoma*, the sacred plant of life. The sun, the moon, and the stars arose from one of its peaks, and from another issued the waters of Ardvī Sūra Anāhita, who is the Ish-tar of Iran.⁶⁰ It was by a great sacrifice in which he invoked this goddess that Hōshang obtained his power.⁶¹ Again we are reminded of Bel-Marduk who won the Tablets of Destiny, which gave him supremacy, in a combat with a goddess, whereby he sacrificed both her and himself. Hōshang fights a similar battle. On a mountain he is confronted by a world-consuming snake with eyes like pools of blood. The smoke that pours from its jaws bedims the world. Hōshang hurls at the beast a rock in which there is iron. Striking on a crag it brings forth fire from its stony hiding-place. Hōshang offers praise for such a radiant gift. 'This luster,' he says, 'is divine, and thou, if wise, must worship it.' In honor of it, he made a mighty blaze and inaugurated the feast of Sadah.⁶² In spite of the fact that Hōshang is said to have died a natural death, his story, like that of his father and of his grandfather, is based on the myth of the death and resurrection of the deity of fire, the Assyrian Bel-Marduk.

The successor of Hōshang was Tahmūrath, the Avestic Takhma Urapi. Firdausī makes him the son of his predecessor, but the early texts affirm that he was the son of Vivanghvant, and hence a brother of Yima. He was given the power to conquer all demons and sorcerers, and he turned Angra Mainyu into a black horse, mounted on which he rode about the earth. But he was only safe against attack so long as he felt no fear. Through bribing his wife to question Tahmūrath, and to reveal his answer, the fiend discovered that at one spot on Hara-Berezaiti his conqueror did have qualms, so the next day when on that sacred mountain, from which the sun arose, he turned upon his rider and swallowed him. Yima, or Jamshīd, who succeeded him, was able to extract his brother's corpse from the stomach of the fiend, though in doing so he defiled his hands and had to purify them. By recovering the body of Tahmūrath, Jamshīd also revived the civilizing arts which had perished

with that hero.⁶³ This is clearly another tale of death and resurrection especially applied to the life-giving sun.

When Jamshīd, in his turn, was destroyed by the fiend who had slain his brother, he also found an avenger in Feridun, the Avestic Thraētaona, son of Ābtin, the Vedic Trita Aptya, who is associated with Indra as the slayer of Viśvarūpa ('Omni-form'). Feridun was assisted by Kawa, a blacksmith, whose sons had been doomed to feed the two snakes that grew from Zohak's shoulders, the fate which had befallen Feridun's father. The blacksmith's apron which served as their banner became the royal standards of Persia. Zohak at last was captured and imprisoned in the crater of Mount Demavand.⁶⁴ But he is destined to escape again and to desolate the world, till he is finally slain by Keresāspa, the Iranian Herakles, when Astvafereta, the last of the three prophets, appears on earth wearing the Glory of Yima.⁶⁵

The legend of the dying god, however, continues in the stories of Feridun's descendants. He divided his realm among his three sons, giving to Selm the West, to Tur the East, and to Erij, the youngest brother, the throne of Persia. Selm and Tur were not content with this division, so Erij went to visit them to avert a civil war. He offered to give up the sovereignty, but they replied with insults, and, seizing him, put him to death, in spite of his entreaties, thereafter embalming his head and sending it as a present to Feridun.⁶⁶ This appears to be a variant of the legend of the Kabeiroi, or Korybantes, three brothers, two of whom killed the third, devouring his body, but crowning his head with a wreath, wrapping it in a crimson cloak, and burying it on a brazen shield near the foot of Mount Olympus.⁶⁷ In the case of Feridun's offspring, the gods of the setting and rising sun kill the deity of light, who is also the setting and the rising sun, as well as lightning and fire. The dispatching to Feridun of the mummified head corresponds to the bearing to Zeus of the heart of Dionysos, when the rest of him had been eaten by the Titans, and to the recovery by Jamshīd of the body of his brother which restored the benefits of civilization. And as usual the slayers themselves are

slain by the revenger of blood. Manucheher,⁶⁸ the grandson of Erij, encased in shining steel, kills his great-uncles in single combat. All these events are merely a ritual interpreted in terms of history.

It is as a champion of Manucheher that Keresāspa ('Possessing Slender Horses')⁶⁹ first enters on the scene. He is a brother of Feridun, whose father had been killed by Azhi Dahāka, or Zohak, and like the rest of his line, he spends his life destroying menacing demons, such as Ganderewa⁷⁰ the Golden-Heeled, the lord of the abyss of waters, who, even after being bound and flayed, managed to force his blinded antagonist into a tangled thicket, to slaughter and eat his fifteen slender horses, and to carry off his wife and family. The hero recovered, however, and pursuing the despoiler, freed the prisoners and gave the dragon a mortal wound. He later fought with a similar foe whose name was Srvara ('Horned'). Keresāspa, who mistook him for a mountain, was cooking food on his back in an iron kettle. But the noonday sun made the monster uncomfortable, and he darted away, upsetting kettle and cook. Keresāspa, undaunted, sprang on the dragon's spine and, after running along it for half a day, reached the neck and slew the beast with a single blow.⁷¹ Another of his victims was a huge bird named Kamak which darkened the earth with its wings, prevented the rain from falling so that all the rivers dried up, and devoured animals and men as though they were grains of corn.⁷² But, like Yima, Keresāspa went astray. Through the evil influence of his wife, who was a wicked witch, he turned to idolatry and extinguished the sacred fire, the son of Ahura Mazda. For this offense he was wounded in his sleep. Since then he has lain in a coma, protected by his Glory, but at the end of the world, through the prayers of water, fire, and vegetation, he will rise again, slay Daḥhāk, and inaugurate an age in which everyone will be happy.⁷³ Thus he represents not only the spring sun and the spring showers which rout the winter and start the seeds to sprouting, but also the harbinger of the golden age, the deity of the Persian apocalypse.

With the reign of Manuchehr a new form of Azhi Dahāka replaces that imprisoned fiend. This fresh antagonist of the sacred fire is the Avestic Frangrasyan, Firdausi's Afrasiab. He lived in a stronghold in the depths of the earth where he sacrificed to Anāhita, as Zohak did in Babylon, that he might become the sovereign of the world. Having failed to seize the Glory that fled from Yima into the sea Vourukasha, he became the inveterate foe of the Persian people and of their god, Ahura Mazda. Like the bird Kamak, he caused a drought by holding back the rivers. His first recorded victim was Manuchehr whom he imprisoned in a mountain gorge, together with his son Naotara or Naudahr. The captives were starved and afflicted with disease, till they were at last delivered by Aghraēratha, Afrasiab's good brother, who in consequence was put to death by the defrauded tyrant, just as Jamshīd, after getting back the body of Tahmūrath, fell a victim to Zohak's rage. After death, Aghraēratha became an immortal being, in the form of a man-headed bull, like those so often depicted in Babylonian art. His constant effort is to slay the various evil creatures in the sea and in the rain.⁷⁴ Thus he continues to play the beneficent rôle of Bel-Marduk who restored fertility.

Another form of this battling deity is Rustam whose name in its archaic form would be Raodhatakhma ('Strong in Growth').⁷⁵ He came of a family in which the dominant trait was an urge towards dragon-killing. His grandfather Sām, Prince of Sistan and chief vassal of Manuchehr, is a doublet of Keresāspa. With his enormous ox-head mace, he rides the land of Persia of venomous snakes which are as big as mountains. In his old age, Sām had a son who was born with snow-white hair. Being convinced by this portent that the child had been generated by a supernatural being, or that its mother belonged to the race of Dāhāk, he had the babe exposed on Hara-Berezaiti. It was nourished by the sacred eagle Sīmurgh, who crowned the heights of the mountains with outspread wings which were like a water-laden cloud. Sām soon repented of his harshness, and, when the voice of a god instructed

him as to the baby's whereabouts, he brought it home and gave it the name of Zāl. Having thus, apparently, risen from the dead, Zāl proceeded in the footsteps of his father, becoming a mighty warrior and a destroyer of demons. When he was hunting one day in the wilds of what today is Afghanistan, he beheld Rūdābah, daughter of the monarch of Kābul. Her father had shut her up in a lofty tower, so that she might not marry, but on seeing Zāl she fell in love with him and, like Rapunzel, let down her golden hair by means of which the hero climbed to her balcony. Thus Rustam was generated, the son of a god of fire and of a goddess of darkness, for Rūdābah was a descendant of Zohak, or Azhi Dahāka.

The birth of this hero was miraculous. Rūdābah was unable to bear the child. The sacred Sīmurgh, who had nourished Zāl, told him to pierce her waist with a blue-steel dagger, imbruing her side in blood, and thus to take the Lion from its lair. He also gave Zāl a plume with which to rub the wound, by this method ensuring its healing, and again restoring Rūdābah to life.⁷⁶ Yima in the same way scratched the soil with his golden arrow, thus causing the earth-goddess to bring forth increase, and afterwards rubbed the gash with his golden scourge. Like the splitting of Ishtar-Tiamat, the goddess of the waters and of the earth, this represented a sacrifice through which, by sympathetic magic, the forces of fruition were supposed to be renewed.

Rustam was the great champion of Iran in the constant wars with the Turanians. On his supernatural horse, which recalls the fearsome steed of Tahmūrath, he was a tower of strength when Iran was assailed. But while he was still a child Afrasiab made a successful raid, slaying Naotara the son of Manuchehr, and by witchcraft stopping the flow of the rivers and holding back the spring showers. His dominion lasted twelve years, but he was finally routed by Zav, a nephew of Naotara, whose mother was the daughter of Afrasiab's sorcerer. Though merely a youth, he put the dark hosts to flight and caused a copious rainfall. In everything but name he is a doublet of Rustam.

THE RAINBOW BRIDGE

Another of Zav's achievements was to rescue Kei Kobād, a descendant of Manuchehr, who, like Rustam's father Zāl, was abandoned at birth on Hara-Berezaiti. Kei Kobād, however, remained on the sacred mountain till after the death of Zav, and of the monarch who succeeded him. Afrasiab then made a new incursion, whereupon Zal sent Rustam his son to seek out Kei Kobād and make him the monarch of Iran. It was on this occasion that Rustam was presented with the ox-head mace of Sām, his grandfather. With its aid, in single combat, he conquered Afrasiab, and thus rescued the land from dearth.

Meanwhile, Rustam had secretly wedded a woman of Turan, the land of Afrasiab, who, after her husband's departure, bore him a son named Suhrāb. By the time the child had grown to manhood, Kei Kobād had been succeeded by Kei Kaus or Kavi Usan. He corresponds to a Vedic thunder-god, Kavya Uśanas, who forged the bolt of Indra.⁷⁷ When the opponent of all Persian monarchs led an attack upon this thunderous being, he brought along Suhrāb who was his strongest fighter. Again the outcome of the war was determined by single combat, with Suhrāb this time supporting the cause of Afrasiab. After prodigies of valor on both sides, he was mortally wounded by Rustam, who failed to recognize him. By slaying his son, he halted the invasion and thus restored the prosperity of Iran. This is not history but myth, or rather ritual, for Suhrāb is a sacrificed deity.

In a variant, the hero who baulks the fiend is Aoshnara, the minister of Kei Kaus who was known as *pouru-jira* ('Very Intelligent'). He had wrought marvels while still in his mother's womb, and at his birth he confounded Angra Mainyu by solving the subtle riddles of Frācīh, the unbeliever. His sovereign later had him put to death because he was too wise.⁷⁸

Still another version of the dying god was Kei Kaus himself. Like Yima he became presumptuous. A demon encouraged him to aspire to the sovereignty of the skies and to mount towards heaven in a car to which four eagles were harnessed. Therefore his Kingly Glory was taken from him

and his troops were defeated in battle. The humbled monarch fled to the Wide-Gulfed Ocean where Nairyōsangha,⁷⁹ the flaming deity who bore to men the messages of the gods, prepared to strike him down. But the spirit which was destined to be the soul of his grandson Kei Khusru interceded and gained his pardon.⁸⁰

Kei Kaus, like Rustam, had married a woman of Turan. This licentious lady attempted to win the love of his son Siawush, who, so that the decencies may be preserved, is said to have been the child of a previous wife. When he rejected her advances, she accused him of having seduced her. Since her husband would not credit her unsupported word, she created two venomous monsters — like the snake and the scorpion in the Assyrian rite of the resurrection of Bel-Marduk. These she declared were the children of Siawush. The prince, to prove his innocence, mounted on his black horse and rode through an enormous fire, both man and beast emerging quite unscathed. The perjury of the queen being thus established, she was condemned to be strangled. Her intended victim, however, obtained her pardon. In spite of this clemency, the queen continued to persecute him till he was forced to take refuge at the court of Afrasiab. That monarch received him with honor and gave him his daughter in marriage, but Garsivaz, his brother, soon laid false charges against the new heir which led to his execution. Rustam bewailed his death as bitterly as if Siawush had been his own offspring, and avenged him first by slaying the queen, the cause of this misfortune, and then by invading the Turanian kingdom. Siawush's infant son, Kei Khusru ('Glorious Sage'),⁸¹ who had been exposed on a mountain, and rescued by a shepherd, fled to his fatherland, on reaching manhood, miraculously crossing the river which divided the Underworld from Iran.⁸² Again we are dealing with a mythical duel between the god of light and fire and the goddess of darkness and water, and the restoring of fertility through the triumphant accession of their son.

Since in this cycle no murders go unavenged, Afrasiab now meets his long-deferred destruction. The Avestic account de-

clares that his frantic curses because he had failed to seize the Glory of Yima were overheard by Haoma. Deciding that this vituperative villain was a dangerous character, he bound him and dragged him captive to Kei Khusru. That monarch had offered a sacrifice to Ardvī Sūra Anāhita, entreating her that he might become the sovereign of the world. He was now afforded an opportunity to avenge a noble father and to rid himself of a dangerous rival. So he put an end to Afrasiab there and then. He also invaded Turan and, through the aid of the fire of warriors, that burned on his horse's mane, found his way through that kingdom's subterranean darkness, destroyed its idols, and laid it utterly waste. The fire from which he derived his strength was then placed on Mount Asnavand, where Yima had previously established it. In Firdausī's version, Afrasiab, defeated by Kei Khusru, takes refuge in a cavern. The hermit Hum overhears him bewailing his defeat and tries to take him prisoner, but the Turanian king escapes by plunging into the lake. Kei Khusru then being summoned, forces his enemy to emerge from his retreat by torturing Garsīvaz, and thus eventually succeeds in killing both brothers,⁸³ as Manuchehr slew his two great-uncles to revenge the murder of his grandfather.

Yima, wounded in his sleep by a secret foe, had been transported to a secret refuge, where he lies in a trance to be broken on the day when the power of evil shall be at last destroyed. And Kei Khusru now suffered a similar fate. Fearing lest he should commit the sin of Yima, he resigned the throne to Aurvaṭ-aspa and with certain champions rode away into the mountains. All his companions perished in the snow, but, the king himself, living, attained to heaven. Enthroned in a hidden place, crowned with a halo of glory, he waits for the time when the world shall be renewed.⁸⁴

Aurvaṭ-aspa ('Possessing Swift Horses') also soon abdicated and was succeeded by his son, Vishtāspa ('Possessing Spiritless Horses'). Like the rest of his line, the successor of Kei Khusru was killed in a fight with Turanians. Zarathushtra met his death on the same occasion.⁸⁵ Considering the general mythical

background, it is difficult to believe that this story contains so much as a grain of authentic history. The king and the sage may both have been real persons, but in the tales that are told about them, they are avatars of the dying god.

Vishtāspa had a brother named Zairivari ('Possessing a Golden Breastplate'), who according to Greek tradition was the offspring of Adonis and Aphrodite. The handsomest man of his time, he married the world's most beautiful woman, Odatis, the daughter of King Omartes. Each of them saw the other in a dream, and instantly fell in love. The hero came to her father's court, disguised as a Skythian, on the day when she had promised to choose a husband by throwing him a golden goblet. She recognized the man of her dreams, and the lovers fled together. Thereafter he engaged in a lengthy struggle with demons and enchanters. One of his victims was Humayaka, a worshiper of devils, who lived in eight caverns and had enormous claws. The conquering hero was slain at last through the treacherous wiles of a wizard, who fell in his turn at the hands of his victim's son.⁸⁶ The golden breastplate from which he got his name was doubtless the orb of the sun, and the prince himself, like all his ancestors, was a deity of increase.

This applies also to Vishtāspa himself, the first monarch to embrace the creed of Zarathushtra. He at first imprisoned the sage who was charged with sacrilege by the priests of the old religion. The prophet proved his innocence by curing the favorite horse of the monarch, whereupon he was released and granted the royal favor.⁸⁷ As in the case of Siawush's ordeal, this tale is based on a cult in which a sacred horse was sacrificed as the representative of a deity.

The confinement of Zarathushtra has a doublet which relates to Isfandiar, Vishtāspa's son. He was cast into a dungeon by his father and was lying there when the Turanian forces defeated the Persians and slew Aurvaṭ-aspa and Zarathushtra. Escaping miraculously, he was able to turn the tables on the Turanians, recovering Persia's lost provinces and the national standard,⁸⁸ the apron of Kawa the smith, which symbolized the force of fertility.

In another tale the talisman recovered was not the standard but Isfandiar's sisters imprisoned by the Turanian King Ardshasp ('Fiery Horse?'). To win them back, Isfandiar contends with a wolf, a lion, a dragon, a witch, a gigantic bird, a tempest and a river, successfully surmounting all these perils. The seven adventures he meets with on this quest are frequently attributed to Rustam,⁸⁹ of whom Isfandiar apparently is merely another form.

In these stories Isfandiar is the savior of his country. But he ended his career as an oppressor. Vishtāspa had declared that he would abdicate in favor of his son, but when the latter claimed the sovereignty, he was informed that Rustam was heading a revolt and that his coronation must be postponed till the traitor was brought in bonds to the foot of the throne. In the struggle that ensued, Isfandiar, like Suhrāb, received a mortal blow, thus qualifying as a dying god. Rustam wounded to death was healed again by a feather from the wing of the eagle Sīmurgh. Soon after he showed that he too was an incarnation of Yima, for he lost his life through falling into a pit which had been prepared for him by his wicked brother, the Spityura of this story.⁹⁰

Like many of his predecessors who compassed the destruction of the true heir to the throne, Vishtāspa was succeeded by his grandson. This prince was called Bahman or Ardeshir Dirazdast, and is known to history as Artaxerxes Longhand. There are legends about him which reflect the career of the solar hero, but most of the chronicles of his reign, which lasted from 465 to 425 B.C., appear to be fact, not fable. There are no strange circumstances connected with his death, which seems to have been due to natural causes.⁹¹ From this time on nothing is heard of dragons nor of Turanian kings, and the Persian monarchs possess no mystic powers. But the pseudo-history of his heroic predecessors is merely a tissue of elaborations on the myth of a deity who restores fertility by dying and rising again, a deity derived from Assyria where he is known as Tammuz or Bel-Marduk or Ashur.

What is true of these demi-gods is also true of the deities to

whom the Persians prayed. Ahura Mazda ('Wise Lord'), who headed their pantheon, first figures in a list of Assyrian divinities on a tablet which dates from the reign of Assurbanipal, about 750 B.C. He is called Assara Mazāsh, and his name is followed by the names of the Igigi, the seven good spirits of heaven, and those of the Annunnaki, the seven evil spirits of the earth or the Underworld.⁹² Assara Mazāsh is one of the many titles applied to Bel-Marduk,⁹³ the deity of fire, of lightning, and of the sun, who was the chief of the Semitic gods and was borrowed by the Semites, with his cult, from the Sumerians. The Persians took him over in their turn, and regarded him as the originator of inanimate and animate creation.

In the Persian account of the making of the world, Ahura Mazda is constantly opposed by Angra Mainyu ('Hostile Spirit'),⁹⁴ but the creation does not arise from the conflict, as in the Assyro-Babylonian myth. On his own initiative, the lord of light produced the six Amesha Spentas ('Immortal Holy Ones'). These were Asha ('Righteousness'), the spirit of fire, Vohu Manu ('Good Mind'), protector of flocks and herds, Kstathra Vairya ('Desirable Kingdom'), the guardian of the metals, Spenta Aramaiti ('Wise Conduct'), the patron of the earth, Haurvatāt ('Perfect Happiness'), presiding over water, and Ameretāt ('Immortality'), the genius of the plants.⁹⁵ Counting Ahura Mazda, there are seven, corresponding to the number of the planets in the Babylonian system. To counter this first move of the lord of light, his rival devised six demons. Ahura Mazda then formed the firmament and the constellations, especially the signs of the zodiac, which in Babylonian tradition were spawned by Tiamat. The stars were given four leaders, one for each point of the compass, Tishtrya (Sirius) in the east, Hapto-iringa (Great Bear) in the north, Satavaēsa (Fomalhaut) in the west, and Vanant (Vega) in the south.⁹⁶ Angra Mainyu thereupon sprang into the sky, in the likeness of a snake, and made planets to war against the lords of the constellations. After a mighty struggle the invaders were expelled, and a rampart was built to prevent them from returning.⁹⁷

THE RAINBOW BRIDGE

The heavens having thus been shaped and fortified, Ahura Mazda caused the waters to flow from the spring called Ardvī Sūra Anāhita ('Wet, Strong, Spotless One'). It is personified as a female deity who causes the growth of plants, safeguards the seed of males, and not only purifies the wombs of females so that they bring forth in safety, but fills their breasts with healthful milk that they may suckle their babies. This deity is plainly the Persian form of Ishtar-Tiamat. Bel-Marduk had created the sky, the land, and the waters by entering her womb and tearing her apart, but the Persians suppress the sexual element. The abstract Ahura Mazda makes the water, or seed, gush forth from a spring which is incidentally a goddess. Thereupon another combat takes place, this time between Tishtrya (Sirius), who in the summer showers pours water on the earth, and the frightful demon Apaosha ('Drought'). The former descends to the sea Vourukasha ('Wide-Gulfed') in the shape of a white horse with golden ears. His adversary is a black horse with bald ears, back, and tail. Tishtrya is defeated and driven off, whereupon he prays to his worshipers — who, inconsistently, are supposed to be already in existence — that they will strengthen him by sacrificing. They promptly comply, so he renews the combat and this time is completely victorious. He thereupon bids the waters stream unhindered,

To the corn that hath the great grains
To the grass that hath the small grains
To corporeal creation,

and brings about this result by plunging into the waters, causing the sea to boil up and overflow its banks, and also forming clouds which descend as rain.

According to another version, Tishtrya took three forms, that of a horse, that of a bull, and that of a boy of fifteen. In each of these three metamorphoses he caused ten days of rain. This drowned all the noxious creatures. Then he entered into the sea in the form of a white horse, conquering Apaosha and causing the streams to flow. A three-legged ass aided him in this work.⁹⁸ The latter is an interesting survival of the archaic

sky-god, called by the Hindus Vishṇu of the three strides, who before the introduction of the horse appears to have been worshiped in Sumer under the shape of an ass.

This Tishtrya myth is especially valuable because it gives clear indications of a horse-sacrifice by which the force of fertility was supposed to be renewed.

The beneficent flood, poured down by Tishtrya, was followed by the production of the thirty-three kinds of land. They were distributed in seven portions, one in the middle and the rest ranged round it to form the six regions. The central part was pierced by Angra Mainyu who entered into it, as Bel-Marduk penetrated Tiamat, goddess of earth and water. Then the ground trembled and the mountains rose. First came Hara Berezaiti ('Lofty Mountain'). From it the other ranges sprouted like trees. Upon its peak was *haoma*, the plant of life.²⁹ Since the mountains were the world's most holy places, and the summit of Hara Berezaiti was the Persian Paradise, this story of the engendering of the heights by the hostile spirit is obviously distorted. It goes back to the older tradition, from which dualism sprang, in which the god fought with a doublet of himself so that slayer and slain were one.

The fields having thus been made ready, their barrenness was relieved by the intervention of Ameretāt, who ground up all the plants and mingled them with the water which Tishtrya had won. That lord of the rain then sprinkled the earth with the elixir thus made, and plants sprang up like hair on the heads of men. The most productive was the Ox-Horn Tree (*Gaokerena*), which grew in the midst of the Wide-Gulfed Ocean. It was known as the White *Haoma*, and contained the germs of every plant. It had the power of renewing the universe and of conferring immortality. On it perched the sacred eagle *Simurgh*. When he flew upward the tree was so agitated that a thousand twigs shot forth. When he alighted again he broke off a thousand twigs which scattered seeds on all sides. Another eagle, *Camrōsh*, collected them and bore them to Tishtrya that he might rain them down upon the earth. To interrupt this process of fertilization, Angra Mainyu formed a

lizard to destroy the Ox-Horn Tree. But Ahura Mazda created ten sacred fish which constantly wheel about it so that one of them is always facing the lizard. The struggle between these antagonists will continue until the renovation of the world.¹⁰⁰

The fourth achievement of Ahura Mazda was the creation of fire, an element which was as holy in Persia as it had been in Sumer. The King of Babylon, each New Year's Day, rekindled the sacred flame, which was Bel-Marduk, at the temple of that god. In Persia the Bahrām fire, the preparation of which requires precisely a year, is considered the source of all ignition.¹⁰¹ It was indispensable in every sacrifice, for according to the accepted ritual the flesh was laid on tender grasses and the deity was invoked to partake of it; his messenger, or proxy, being the sacred flame.¹⁰² The myth of how fire was made appears to be connected with the descent of the Glory of Yima. In the story of Keresāspa, Ahura Mazda speaks of the fire as his son. Hōshang is said to have obtained it for men as a result of his fight with a dragon. Ātar ('Fire'), the son of Ahura Mazda, fought with Azhi Dahāka, the triple-mouthed, for the Glory which afterwards entered the sea Vourukasha. Behind these references may lie a myth like that of the Assyro-Babylonian epic in which the fire-god generates a new form of himself by subduing and penetrating the python of the sea. But this story, if it existed, was suppressed by the pure-minded priests of Zarathushtra. So nothing is said as to how Ahura Mazda produced the flame which was his manifestation. When it had come into being, Angra Mainyu blighted it by clouding it with smoke.¹⁰³

The time for the animals had now arrived, so Ahura created a sacred ox which contained the germs of all species. The Evil Spirit, however, succeeded in killing it, in spite of an antidote administered by its maker. Gēush Urvan ('Soul of the Ox') complained that no one was left to guard the creatures of earth, but was mollified when he was shown the spirit which was destined to be born as Zarathushtra, and agreed that until the birth of the prophet he would himself endeavor to nourish and protect the animate world. Meanwhile there sprouted from

the ox's body fifty-five kinds of grain and twelve sorts of medicinal plants. His seed, after having been purified in the moon, produced a bull and a cow, and a hundred and eighty-two pairs of every sort of beast.¹⁰⁴ The sacred bull, like the sacred tree, is clearly a dying god, like the Babylonian Bel, who created plants and animals and men by cutting off his own head. As fertility, in the myth of Tishtrya, was obtained by killing an equine deity, so here it was produced by slaying a sacred bull.

This form of the myth, and cult, is found again in the mysteries of Mithra, who is the Mitra of Sumer and of the *Vedas*. In Persia he is the most important Yazata ('Adored One'), a class of deities pushed into second place by the priests of Zarathushtrianism who wished to worship the abstract virtues while preserving the ancient rites, and consequently did for Persia much what Confucius accomplished for China, except that their reforms were less permanent and far-reaching. In the seal inscriptions of the Persian kings, both Mithra and Ahura Mazda appear in frequent conjunction with Anāhita,¹⁰⁵ that goddess of the waters who closely corresponds to the Assyro-Babylonian Ishtar. Mithra, according to Herodotus, was identical with Ishtar,¹⁰⁶ by which no doubt he meant that Mithra was Tammuz, her masculine counterpart. If so, he made no blunder, for Mithra and Anāhita were fused together as indissolubly as Tammuz was with Ishtar, so that after the reign of Artaxerxes Memnon these deities form an indivisible couple in the records of the Achæmenians.¹⁰⁷ A seventh-century Babylonian tablet in the library of Assurbanipal declared that Mithra was Shamash, and the Romans when they adopted his cult called him Sol Invictus ('Unconquered Sun').¹⁰⁸ The Avesta speaks of him as 'the first of the spiritual Yazatas who rises over the Mountain before the immortal sun, driver of swift horses, who foremost attains the gold-decked fair summits whence he surveys the whole dwelling-place of the Aryans, he the most mighty.' The celestial and moral Mithra is celebrated thus, 'To Mithra, the lord of wide pastures, we sacrifice, the truth-speaking, eloquent in assembly, the thousand-eared,

the shapely, the myriad-eyed, the exalted (lord of), the broad outlook, the strong, the sleepless, the vigilant.' ¹⁰⁹ The heat of Mithra is said to give warmth and life to everything that grows, and to render the earth fertile.¹¹⁰ The similarity of Ahura Mazda and Mithra is admitted by the former when he declares that he had created Mithra as worthy as himself of sacrifice and prayer.¹¹¹ We should, therefore, expect to find Mithra a dying god, who represented the vital force contained in fire, in lightning, and in the sun, like the other deities of Persia and of Assyria. And, as in the case of Tishtrya, who presided over the east, his metamorphoses might be a youth, a horse, or a bull.

The data in regard to the cult of Mithra come not from Persia but from the Roman Empire. According to Plutarch his worship was introduced there by Cilician pirates who were captured in 67 B.C.¹¹² In the scenes depicted on the monuments, Mithra emerges from a block of stone, and he is frequently called 'the god from the rock.' ¹¹³ In many cases, the generating stone, which was worshiped as divine, is encircled by a snake which raises its head towards the child. Mithra is naked, except for a Phrygian cap, and holds in one hand a knife and in the other a torch.¹¹⁴ The Vedic Agni was also declared to have been born from a stone, the reference being to the lightning that bursts from the thundercloud.¹¹⁵ Mithra's nativity should be interpreted in precisely the same way, for in the bas-reliefs depicting it an aquatic god is often represented, and the mask of a similar deity is engraved upon the conical generating stone.¹¹⁶ Like Indra, the lightning form of Agni, he began his life in the flash which piercing the swollen cloud, the Vedic Vṛtra, released the rain, and restored the light of the sun.

The same event is depicted in the tableau which shows Mithra lopping from a tree a bough with large leaves and conical fruit. From the foliage emerges another figure precisely similar to the god. A bearded deity blows violently towards him, and sometimes another does the like towards the wielder of the knife.¹¹⁷ Mithra is here performing the feat of the eagle Simurgh who, when he rose, caused the Ox-Horn Tree to

sprout, and, when he descended, broke off and scattered the seeds. The fertility god by striking a sacred tree begets a new form of himself and thus renews the force of generation.

A similar scene is depicted on certain coins of Myra and of Aphrodisias. Two wood-cutters with double axes hew at a tree surmounted by the bust of a goddess. Each is opposed by a snake.¹¹⁸ Or one man, naked except for a Phrygian cap, chops at a leafless tree, while a similar figure with one knee on the ground, clasps his left arm round the trunk and raises the right as if to invoke a god. Again the sacred woodman is counterpoised by a naked individual running away,¹¹⁹ or two men cut while a more diminutive third stands with uplifted arms.¹²⁰ The coins are said to represent the begetting of the god Attis,¹²¹ to whom the Phrygian Mithra had been assimilated.¹²² Fertility, which sprang from the thundercloud had a second genesis in vegetation, typified by a tree.

A third exploit of the god is the releasing of water. A shaft from his bow pierces a lofty rock. From the hole a fountain gushes forth.¹²³ Mithra's arrow, like Indra's dart, which freed the imprisoned streams by shattering the rocky strongholds of Vṛtra, is the thunderbolt which engendered the deity of increase, as Ea divided Apsū into chambers, creating Bel-Marduk, a doublet of himself. Both the transfixing of the rock and the lopping of the branch are representations of the sacrifice by which the deity renewed his strength through being born again.

Still another symbolic manner of expressing this mystery is by depicting Mithra slaying a sacred bull, who corresponds to the Vedic Parjanya ('Raincloud'), the roaring bull with swift-flowing drops who places his seed in growing things as a germ and removes sterility from cows and mares and women, the bellowing, aqueous bull who delights the earth.¹²⁴ His Persian equivalent is the primal ox from whose body plants and beasts originated. On the monuments Mithra braces one knee against the victim's withers and raises its head with one hand, while the other plunges a knife into the hollow of its shoulder. Ears of grain are sprouting from its tail. Above a raven hovers.

A scorpion bites the testicles of the bull, and a dog leaps up to lap the flowing blood, which a snake is also drinking. On each side a torch-bearer stands and, at Heddernheim, a lion is crouching beneath.¹²⁵ There the slab on which this scene was engraved revolved upon a pivot and disclosed to the worshipers another tableau engraved on the back of it. The dead bull lies prone on the floor of a cave. Behind it two children are lifting baskets of fruit which have been produced by its body. In the center a spirit which may represent Gēush Urvan ('The Soul of the Ox')¹²⁶ is offering Mithra a good-sized bunch of grapes. Between the two a Phrygian cap surmounted by spreading rays rests on the top of a pole or tree.¹²⁷

According to a Persian tradition, the Glory, when it first departed from Yima, took the shape of a Vāreghna bird or raven, and was seized by the god Mithra.¹²⁸ This raven was one of the forms of Verethraghna who was likewise a bull with golden ears and horns.¹²⁹ Yima is closely linked with the primeval bull, and had lost his Glory, or life, because of a sacrifice. It is this sacrifice which here is represented. The scorpion was the recognized symbol of Ishtar or Anāhita, the feminine form of Mithra. She presided not only over earth and water, but also over the moon, controller of the tides. It was in the moon that the seed of the Persian bull was purified and thus given the power to produce all sorts of animals. Isis, who likewise was a scorpion-goddess, extracted the seed of the dead bull-god Osiris, and thus conceived her son Horus, his younger form. Both dog and snake apparently are symbols of the Underworld which was nourished by the victim's blood. The lion was the beast of flame and the emblem of Kybele or Ishtar. The grapes that are offered to Mithra, like the apples that spring from the bull, typify the new vital force brought into being by the death and resurrection of the god of fertility. And the shining Phrygian cap is the sign of the vernal sun restored to the sky by this ancient rite which originated in Sumer.

If this interpretation is correct, the cult of Mithra embodies the crude religion which the Zarathushtrian priests attempted to reform. It does not represent the duel of good and evil

forces. Mithra who slew the bull of increase was not a baleful fiend like the Set of the later Egyptian traditions who murdered his righteous brother. He was, on the contrary, a benignant deity who died to save mankind and in perishing generated the god of the new year. And this is the true background of all the Persian tales of shining kings who married daughters of darkness, exposed their sons, and perished fighting doublets of themselves, or were spirited away to some secret refuge from which they will return to establish a golden age. It likewise is the basis of the Persian myths of creation. But with the increasing tendency to regard the god as a king, his slayer became his mortal enemy, the ruler of the Underworld. At the same time, the begetting of his new incarnation through a combat of the male and female forces — sacred fire and sacred water, the Chinese Yang and Yin — lost its original significance and was regarded merely as a combat between a hero and an evil monster. Then came the attempt of the priests to make the gods more abstract, ranging themselves on the side of incarnate virtue, opposing incarnate vice. Fear and greed further modified the original rituals, through the institution of gift sacrifices, another result of regarding the gods as human. The divinities became regents, not knowing death, but engaged in an eternal war with devils. Thus, though the older customs still persisted, dualism came to be the dominant creed not in Persia alone, but throughout the pagan world.

When the Arabs conquered Persia, in the seventh century A.D., they brought with them the system known as Sabæanism, based on the worship of a single supreme god, not very different from Ahura Mazda. He was supposed to be assisted by certain emissaries who were the spirits of the heavenly bodies, and thus were roughly equivalent to the Amesha Spentas. The Arabs had, however, borrowed largely, not only from Judaism, but also from Christianity. Babylonia had likewise influenced them since they had goddesses of the same general nature as Ishtar — Al-Uzza, who presided over Venus, Allat the particular deity of Mecca, and Manda a sacred stone like that which generated Mithra. At Mecca, each day

of the year had its special cult and image.¹³⁰ Mahomet, in reforming this somewhat barbarous faith, largely did away with its ancient superstitions, forbidding the worship of idols and laying down a practical rule of life based on ethics, not on magic. Prayers and fasts take the place of sacrificial cults. The *Qūran* which, he claims, was dictated by the angel Gabriel under the form of an Arab, is a very commonsense document indeed,¹³¹ and may even be well advised, from the standpoint of results, in promising to those who obey its code a life of eternal licentiousness hereafter. But in two respects the founder of this religion seems indebted to the reforms of the Zarathushtrians. Ahura Mazda has neither mother nor wife, and though Ātar ('Fire') is said to be his son, this was hardly regarded as a physical fact but merely as an assertion that fire was sacred. Allah is also free from sexual ties. He is not a dying god who has a succession of births, but a changeless deity existing from the beginning, and continually devoting all his efforts to fighting what is evil and upholding what is good. Moreover Mahomet, though he denied that he had supernatural powers, was regarded as a Saoshyant or Prophet in the same way that Zarathushtra was. The teachings of the Jews had certainly influenced him. But it is most improbable that the Hebrews evolved their religious ideas in utter isolation, and were unaffected by the Persian beliefs encountered when they were captives in Babylon, if not at an earlier time.¹³² It would rather seem that both Moses and Mahomet, more successful than Azhi Dahāka, received the subtilized Glory that fled from Yima, and that each, in his own manner, fashioned it into a light to guide humanity.

The religion of Persia resulted naturally from its strong centralized government, but it was modified materially by certain rites derived from subject races. The principal deity, a sky-god, like Shang Ti, bearing a name that was borrowed from the Assyro-Babylonian cults, was exalted into an undying god, the reputed ancestor of the emperors. A similar process in China had similar results. But, through the example of the sacred duel, which was an essential feature in the fertility-

rites of the Mesopotamian peoples, this lord of the sky was supplied with an opponent. The latter, through Egyptian influence, or by natural deduction, became an incarnation of blight and sin, a wicked devastating devil engaged in eternal warfare with a righteous fructifying god. Ahura Mazda, however, did not perish every year, after the fashion of Tammuz and Osiris. He had crossed the rainbow bridge into Paradise, while Angra Mainyu, working widdershins, had descended it and reached the infernal regions. Furthermore, the Zarathustrian priests reduced these antagonists to abstract principles. Through their determined efforts to divorce religion from sex, the Sacred Marriage was eliminated as well as the death of the god, and the orgiastic element which had hitherto characterized the creeds of southwestern Asia was theoretically suppressed. The unenlightened populace, however, continued the ancient system with Mithra, the Sumerian Mitra, playing the part of Tammuz, and Anāhita in the rôle of Ishtar. The irony of fate turned Zarathushtra himself into a form of that god against whom he rebelled.

In the literature of Persia, as in its cults, there was a struggle between two sets of ideas. As in China, the ancestors of the emperors, originally divine, were humanized into semi-historical monarchs. In India the gods were epic heroes and in Egypt — where through the influence of the priests the life beyond the grave became a matter of paramount importance — there was a similar development, for instance in *The Story of the Two Brothers* whose principal characters are deities thinly disguised as men.¹³³ But the Persians, like the Chinese, were more concerned with existence on earth than with life in the Otherworld. Their myths were therefore incorporated in a pseudo-history. In this, however, the cult of the dying god, which the pious Zarathushtra attempted to displace, became the central fact, the pattern for the events of every reign till the time when actual chronicles began. The dualism of that cult distorted the accounts of actual campaigns, so that the tragic death and triumphant resurrection of the vegetation spirit is the principal theme in the annals of the wars be-

tween the Persians and the Turanians. Religion, which began as an attempt to increase by magic arts the prosperity of the clan, enlarged its unit first to the tribe, then to the city state, the Egyptian *nome*, and then to that collection of city states which called itself a nation. Hence, as in the case of Persia, authentic records must be preceded by myths, and fantasy will only yield to fact when the weakening of religion makes history possible. For the story of any race must necessarily start with the cult which caused its political organization.

The reform which Zarathushtra attempted was too far in advance of his time to be successful. His aim was to create a monotheism with an immortal god who represented the highest ideals of the Persians and aided them to fulfill their national aspirations. But his countrymen were not yet enlightened enough to dispense with the magic rites of the fertility cult. Ahura Mazda scaled the rainbow bridge, mounting to Paradise and immortality, but in the process he became an ethical abstraction, whose realm for all practical purposes was controlled by Mithra and Anāhita. The higher creed was vanquished by the cult of the dying god, transformed into dualism.

Mahomet succeeded where Zarathushtra failed, for he had in his favor more than a thousand years of religious development during which the belief in the efficacy of magic had steadily diminished. Moreover, the rise of Hebraism and of Christianity had made his task much simpler. He replaced by a burning faith the bond of common descent which united the Arab tribe and had itself begun in the cult of an ancestor who was an incarnate god. The tolerance of foreign creeds instituted by Cyrus the Great, as a means of holding together his diversified dominions, was thus replaced by a fanatic zeal like that which the Jews had used to such good advantage. Islam became a magnified family group of which Allah was the invisible sheikh. Threats of Eblis and hopes of Paradise helped to keep in line its adherents, but a religious patriotism was its essential feature, and it was this which enabled the Moslems to conquer half the world. Moreover, it put an end to the

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superstitious customs which had endured so long. Allah, the beneficent ruler whose powers knew no abatement, had no need of the annual death and resurrection through which Mithra renewed his strength, and a spiritual merging with him in prayer could replace that bodily union with the deity of increase which had necessitated the communal feast on the flesh of a sacred victim. Furthermore, the rainbow bridge had raised him to so transcendent a height that like Ahura Mazda he had no female consort, though, out of consideration for human weakness, he peopled the Otherworld with black-eyed houris. The account of the *Qūran's* dictation may carry no more conviction than the tale of how Moses received the Ten Commandments. But putting aside this matter of revelation, which is a last concession to sorcery, the Moslem religion has prospered because it is based so little on supernatural phenomena and accords so well with the nature of its fallible followers. It is a fairly complete fulfillment of Zarathushtra's dream, the worship by a people of its projected ideal.

Chapter VII

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

Of man's first disobedience, and the fruit
Of that forbidden tree, whose mortal taste
Brought death into the world, and all our woe,
With loss of Eden, till one greater Man
Restore us, and regain the blissful seat,
Sing, heavenly Muse....

MILTON

ACCORDING to the traditions of other ancient peoples, the creation of the world, mankind, the animals, and the plants was due to the sacrifice of a deity, and the renewal of fertility could only be obtained by the rehearsal of that primitive rite, which, in myth, was represented as a combat. But the Hebrews had a different belief. Jehovah, their national god, who wielded thunderbolts and appeared to them as a pillar of fire or as a pillar of cloud, did not perish and rise again, according to the *Bible*. Like Neith, he had existed from the beginning and would continue till the end of time, but unlike that divinity, he was wholly masculine in so far as he could be said to belong to either sex. In this respect he was more etherealized than even Ahura Mazda who allowed the goddess Anāhita to share his Paradise, though on the most formal terms, and who revenged the death of his offspring, Ātar, the spirit of flame. Jehovah, that supernatural tribal chief, confines his gifts to his own followers. To those who worship other gods he is wholly pitiless. He has no private life, and hence no myths are told about him. He exacts absolute loyalty, and when this is granted to him he plentifully rewards his faithful servants, while he punishes with frightful misfortunes those who are recreant in allegiance. He created the world through pure philanthropy, or possibly to mitigate his endless isolation. He has formulated for humanity a definite moral platform and refuses to tolerate any amendments to it. At the end of the world he

will offer endless bliss to those who have conformed, while all insurgents will be condemned to an eternity of torture.

Such a creed cannot possibly have been primitive. Neither Confucius nor Zarathushtra succeeded in so thoroughly suppressing the element of magic, that savage source of religious faith. Nor can all the credit for this reform be given to the zealous Hebrew prophets who did so much to increase the emphasis on ethics, and supplemented in this respect the work of the founder of Judaism. The elimination of sacrifices was the most important step, and this was taken not because the Jews were more enlightened than their neighbors, but because, on the contrary, they were more superstitious. The victims had been offered in the Temple at Jerusalem, where, in the principal festivals of the year, they were completely burned. But a law which is set down in the *Book of Deuteronomy*, a work discovered in the Temple about 620 B.C., during the reign of Josiah,¹ forbade the celebration of sacrifices at any other place. Hence the destruction of the Temple also destroyed the cult.² There was still the New Year's festival known as the Day of Atonement (Yom-ha-Kippurim), when the faithful refrained from money-making and food to expiate their sins, but there was no scapegoat to impersonate the old fertility deity who by dying and rising again might cleanse them of their offenses. Nor could the Jews carry out in the former way that rite significantly known as Pesach ('The Passing of the God') in which the victim supplying the communal feast was sacrificed with the greatest care that its bones should not be broken,³ a trait recalling the story of Thor's goats which when eaten with similar precautions came to life again the next morning, indicating that the slaughtered beast was the theriomorph of a god.⁴ And though they kept the taboo on pork, which likewise characterized the ancient Harranians who worshiped Tammuz⁵ and the ancient Egyptians who worshiped Osiris, they did not, like these two peoples, consume the forbidden food in an annual festival, believing that they mystically ate the flesh of their divinity. Having thus relinquished the rite by which, through sympathetic magic, worshipers formerly had compelled

their god to make them prosperous, they had to invent an effective substitute. They found it in a rigid ritual. The Lord was pleased by blind obedience to the commandments he had dictated. By proper observance of forms and by making liberal gifts you could get him on your side, exactly as by politeness and by liberality you could persuade a Bedouin chief to make war on your behalf. Thus a formalistic religion arose like that which Mahomet devised. The eternal Jehovah, or Allah, replaced the dying Tammuz, just as the latter dispossessed the totem.

Linguistically and racially the Jews are closely linked to those other Semites, the Assyrians, who took over, practically unchanged, the cults of the Sumerians. And the evidence of the *Bible* indicates that the people for whom it served as a spiritual guide originated where the Sumerian faith was wholly dominant. Eden is a Sumerian word which means an irrigated field,⁶ and Paradise is a Persian one denoting a walled garden.⁷ The four rivers of Paradise go back to the tradition of China and Vedic India that there were rivers which flowed to the north, east, south, and west from the crest of Mount Sumeru, the dwelling of the gods. A variant is the Persian legend of Ardvī Sūra Anāhita who, from a spring on the peak of Hara Berezaiti, the Persian Paradise, watered the whole world. Ararat where the ark of Noah came to rest is the Sumerian AR.ARATTA ('Height of the Highland, or of Elam').⁸ The Hebraic story of the Flood is closely paralleled by a Sumerian myth, and by the Persian story of Yima's enclosure, perhaps derived from Sumer. The evidence of a mighty flood, which may have suggested these myths, was discovered by Woolley in excavating Ur.⁹ And this center of Sumerian civilization was the birthplace of Abraham, and the city to which he sent to obtain a wife first for his son and later for his grandson. So that the Jews, at the start, were probably quite as addicted to the Sumerian rites as were the Assyrians. They evolved their new religious faith from the cult of the dying god.

In cases of this kind there are bound to be survivals of the primitive ideas, and these are by no means lacking in the

Biblical chronicles. The Babylonian epic of creation begins with the marriage of Apsū ('The Abyss'), a deification of the fresh waters, to Tiamat ('The Life of the Womb of the Earth'), also called Mummu, who was the spirit of the sea. From the union of these fresh and salty floods various gods arose representing the sun and the moon and the sky and the earth. Then the creator, Bel-Marduk, formed the dry land by dividing Tiamat, the waters of the abyss, after a mighty struggle. He separated the upper Tiamat, the waters above the firmament, from the lower Tiamat, the waters below the firmament. And since the slaying of the goddess was also an impregnation, the barren land was made fertile and the sea was caused to bring forth abundantly. Finally man was formed, apparently as the first of the god's reincarnations, and was made the ruler of all animate beings.²⁰ Such a narrative might well be the origin of the account with which the *Bible* commences, though there the sun, the moon, the sky, the earth, and the waters have been deprived of the divinity with which they were invested in the minds of ancient peoples, and the fight between fire and water has been completely suppressed. Certain passages of Scripture, however, point to another version in which that combat was retained. In the *Book of Job*, God is said to have compassed the waters with bounds and shut up the sea with doors, saying: 'Hitherto shalt thou come and no further, and here shall thy proud waves be stayed.'²¹ And Jeremiah also testifies that the Lord made the sand a barrier for the surges of the deep, so that though they roared, they could not pass over it.²² This dualistic system was suppressed when monotheism became the accepted code, but the texts just cited attest the older tradition.²³ The Hebrews once believed, like the Sumerians, that the miracle of creation resulted from a combat which was also a sacrifice.

There are other slips in the Biblical narrative revealing the ancient Semitic heritage from which the Hebrews shaped their new beliefs. The word *Elohim* which is rendered 'God' is properly a plural,²⁴ so that when the deity says, 'Let us make man in our image,'²⁵ he is speaking collectively for that multitude of beings who were spawned by Tiamat, as he is again

when after the Fall he exclaims, 'The man is become as one of us.'¹⁶ When he tells the Jews not to worship other gods, he is admitting that other gods exist and are not merely the fruit of delusion and error. That he was not alone in this belief is shown by the fact that Baal, the sacred title reserved in the *Bible* for heathen divinities, occurs as an element in Hebrew proper names.¹⁷ And apparently the *Book of Esther* is an Assyrian myth, sufficiently modified to masquerade as Hebraic history, for Mordecai and his cousin Esther have names suspiciously similar to the deities Marduk and Ishtar,¹⁸ while Haman, in Sumerian, would mean 'The Double God,'¹⁹ and so be synonymous with the sun-god's title Shamash. This story of how an oppressor was vanquished is based on the old fertility-myth, the struggle between antagonists who are identical which characterizes the cult of the dying god.

In Sumer, China, India, Egypt, and Persia the earliest kings were deities and the events of their reigns were myths. In Persia the attempt to exalt Ahura Mazda resulted in transferring to legendary heroes the exploits once accredited to the chief divinity. Yima and his successors won back fertility by the usual process of death and resurrection, while the immortal Ahura Mazda assisted them in the struggle by granting them special powers, but took no personal part in the encounters. The uplifting of Jehovah had the same effect. The active and picturesque figures were his prophets and champions. He was their strength, but they performed the deeds, and in these the supernatural element was extremely prominent. The authentic history of the Israelites does not commence till the monarchy of Saul (1100 B.C.),²⁰ and sacred legend still obscured the truth down to the time when Jerusalem was taken by Nebuchadnezzar, perhaps five centuries later. It may be that some of the Hebrew patriarchs had an actual existence, but the stories told about them are mainly myths and, like the fantastic paladins of Iran, they may have been not men but gods.

Since a mighty deluge occurred about 4000 B.C., in Ur, the Sumerian city where Abraham was born, the story of Noah, allowing for some exaggeration, is not inherently improbable.

The difficulty is that it was also told about Utnapishtim ('The Breath of Life'),²² a long time before the date of the Biblical narrative. Its Sumerian hero was saved by the warning of Ea when Bel and the other gods sent a flood to destroy back-sliding humanity. He released from his ark a raven and a dove, and thus found out that the waters were receding. Bel then permitted him to disembark and to become the ancestor of mankind.²³ This is a variant of the protean myth recording a combat between Fire and Water. The releasing from his ark of Utnapishtim is exactly equivalent to the freeing of Tammuz from his prison in the Underworld. The Indian myth of Manu rescued from the engulfing waters by Vishnu the Sacrifice has the same significance. Manu kindled the first fire, establishing Agni to be a light for all peoples. He begat mankind by wedding Idā, his daughter, who is a personification of the offering of milk and butter. The son of Vivasvat ('Shining'), he is himself the fire which he created, the ritualistic flame, quenched and rekindled each year, with fitting sacrifices, that the sun of spring, which generated all life, might have strength to rise again.

Noah was also the first to offer burnt sacrifice, like Manu, and like Bel-Marduk and like that bi-sexual Yima, Māshya, and Māshyōi. He also initiated the growing of grapes and the making of wine like Osiris and like Jamshīd. The curious shame-faced story of how his sons saw him naked²³ suggests that like Osiris he was once a fertility-deity whose symbol was the phallus. His story is really a cosmogenic myth. Bel started organic evolution by cutting off his own head and, when his blood had impregnated the earth, restoring himself to life. Mithra performed a similar miracle by slaying the bull which was his theriomorph. The fluid in the veins of Noah not having so sovereign a virtue, because he had resigned his godhead to Jehovah, he merely preserved a pair of every species, after the fashion of Yima, and set life going by leading them out of the ark. His name means 'Rest,'²⁴ and he was so called, according to the Bible, because of Lamech's quite fallacious hope that this son of his old age would restore the happy days when men

were not forced to earn their bread by labor.²⁵ But like Yama, that other originator of fire and sacrifice, who chose death and abandoned his body, preparing a path for many, Noah really represented the quiet of the grave, the suspended animation of the seed. Like Yama and like Yima, the god whose myth was transferred to Noah, he was a deity of death and resurrection.

Like the begetter of humanity the progenitor of the Jews, Abraham son of Terah,²⁶ appears to have been a god before he became a man. His name means 'Illustrious Father,'²⁷ and hence would hardly be given to a human child by any judicious parent. Like Tammuz, Fu Hsi, Yama, Osiris, and Yima, he appears to have been married to his sister, though the Hebrew scribes have tried to suppress this fact. She was surpassingly beautiful, like Ishtar, Isis, and Aphrodite. Pharaoh took her from Abraham and added her to his harem, since, according to the *Bible*, the canny Hebrew, for fear that he might be slain, had passed her off as his sister, concealing the fact that she was his wife. For this the Lord plagued Pharaoh with great plagues, though Abraham alone was responsible. Sarah was therefore restored to her brother and husband, and the pair were sent out of Egypt.²⁸ Exactly the same thing happened in the land of Philistines. Abimelech ('Royal Father')²⁹ appropriated Sarah, believing her unmarried, and in consequence his wife and his maidservants were afflicted with sterility. Restitution was made, and Abraham prayed to God, whereupon the curse was removed.³⁰

Sarah suffered from a similar misfortune. Her husband had attained to fivescore years, and she herself was close to the century mark, before she had a child. The curse was removed through the visit of three angels for whom Abraham killed a young calf, and possibly also through the institution of the rite of circumcision.³¹ And even when Isaac ('The Laughter') or Isaakel ('He upon whom God smiles')³² came into the world at last, the Lord commanded that he should be sacrificed, only revoking the order at the last possible moment, and then providing a ram as a substitute.³³

The clash between Abraham and his two royal rivals suggests the ritualistic duel for the favors of a goddess between two forms of the god. The delayed child-bearing is an episode in the myths of Rustam and of Herakles. In the Persian tale the eagle Simurgh takes the place of the three young men. These cases of postponed birth or protracted barrenness may represent the sterility that comes with the dying year before the old god is reborn again. The sacrifice of Isaac in animal form is parallel to the slaying of Dionysos who was worshiped by the Hebrews according to Plutarch.³⁴ It represents the essential ceremony of the Sumerian cult. And since as history these events are wholly preposterous, while as myths they are reasonably intelligible, there seems some ground for regarding the first of the Israelites as a humanized form of the god of fertility.

Isaac, so providentially delivered from the sacrificial knife, was married not to his sister but to his cousin. However, he told Abimelech that Rebekah was his sister for fear that he might be murdered because of her beauty. If the monarch had not discovered by ocular testimony that they were man and wife, he might have had the same misadventure with Isaac as with father Abraham.³⁵ Like Sarah, Rebekah was barren, but the granting of Isaac's prayers for progeny was not unduly postponed. His wife conceived twins who fought for the right of first entering the world—Esau ("The Hairy"), who was red, and Jacob ("The Supplanter"), pale and smooth. The latter obtained his elder brother's birthright in return for a plateful of scarlet soup, and cheated him out of the paternal blessing, which had some magical significance, by offering Isaac veal instead of the venison which Esau was to have furnished, and putting the skins of the calves on his hands to disguise himself as his brother. This was done at the instigation of Rebekah. The only apparent result of this sharp practice was that Jacob had to flee for his life.³⁶ But the contending twins, one red and the other white, recall Set and Osiris, the former equated with the burning sun, the latter with the cool and silvery moon. Again the fantastic elements in the tale are drawn from the myth of the dying god.

Jacob, like Isaac, married his cousin, or rather his two cousins, Leah ('Wild Cow') and Rachel ('Sheep'),³⁷ the daughters of Laban ('White'). Their names suggest that these sacred marriages were solemnized upon the altar and not in front of it. Jacob and his two wives may have been united in death and resurrection. Perhaps the latter represented winter and summer, or twilight and dawn. Their husband had twelve sons, the number of the months, and the hours of the day. His early contest with his brother Esau had a doublet in his wrestle with an angel, which lasted from sunset till sunrise. The angel touched the hollow of his thigh, causing a sinew there to shrink. Thereafter he gave Jacob a new name, calling him Israel.³⁸ Behind this euphemistic account may lie a grim reality, the death by emasculation of the fertility-god in a mystic wedding with the earth-goddess. Jacob thereafter became the risen god bearing a different name.

If the sons of Jacob represent the twelve months of the year or the twelve hours of the day, one of them at least should suffer the fate of the god of increase. This was reserved for Joseph ('The Increaser'). His coat of many colors may correspond to the sunset. His dreams, of how his sheaf stood upright while the sheaves of his brothers made obeisance, and of how the sun and the moon and the eleven stars threw themselves prostrate before him, agree with the usual visions which have to do with infant deities. He is thrown into a well like Trita, that form of Indra, who, having been similarly dealt with, cried out on account of his brothers, and was delivered by Bṛhaspati. He is sold into slavery in Egypt, an incident which serves as a variant of the exposure of the youthful god. The wife of Potiphar ('The Offering of the Risen One'), who is his master, entreats him to lie with her, and when he will not, accuses him of attempting to assault her, and has him thrown into prison. This is paralleled in Persia by the story of Siawush and likewise in Greece by the myth of Hippolytos. Released from captivity, to interpret the dream of the King of Egypt, he saves the land from a famine, and is given unlimited power. And he marries the daughter of a certain Potipherah ('The

Offering of the Sun God'), perhaps the same as the Potiphar whose wife had falsely accused him. The deity released from the Underworld weds the rejuvenated form of the goddess who sent him there, thus making the land fruitful. Such may be the myth which here is treated as history.

When the Hebrews moved to Egypt to enjoy the favor of Joseph, they did not reckon on what would happen after the death of their protector. A new Pharaoh arose who treated them with a senseless, melodramatic cruelty like that of Zohak or Afrasiab, the oppressors of the Persians. Moses, an infant exposed by his mother and succored by Pharaoh's daughter — instead of by a she-wolf, a bitch, an eagle, or a doe, as in less humanized variants of the myth — was summoned by the Lord to deliver the Jews. His name, according to the *Bible*, means 'Taken from the Water,'³⁹ which suggests the Persian and Vedic Apām Napāt ('Son of the Waters'). After a plague in which the first-born babies of all the Egyptians perished,⁴⁰ he succeeded in leading the Israelites out of Egypt annihilating, with the help of Jehovah, the host of the wicked Pharaoh by releasing the pent-up waters of the Red Sea, surely a reminiscence of the slaying of the monster of drought who sucked up all the streams. The rod of Moses,⁴¹ like the arrow of Mithra, caused water to flow from a rock. By keeping his hands uplifted he enabled the Israelites to conquer the hosts of Amalek. On a mountain-top in Sinai he received, amid thunders and lightnings, the commandments of the Almighty. He was not so awed by the spectacle, however, that he had any hesitation in destroying the tablets on which these precepts were inscribed when his followers worshiped a golden calf. The Lord took this in good part, and promptly supplied a new set when the people had repented. Moses' brother Aaron ('The Sacred Ark')⁴² was made the first high-priest of Israel. He afterwards went up into a mountain at the command of the Lord and died there when his son Eleazar ('God Hath Helped') had been clothed in his sacred robes,⁴³ which strongly suggests the cult of the dying god. As for Moses, seeing that he had sinned, like Yima, and had dared to doubt the wisdom of the Lord, he was condemned

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to wander forty years leading the Israelites through the wilderness in a vain search to find the promised land. The Persian Kei Khusru had suffered a similar fate, but he attained to heaven while yet alive after all those who accompanied him had succumbed to the journey's hardships. None of the Israelites who set out with Moses lived to reach the home reserved for their race, but though they failed, their children succeeded. Moses was taken up into Mount Nebo whence he had a glimpse of the longed-for paradise. Then he died, but not till he had laid his hands on Joshua ('He Whose Help is Jehovah'), the son of Nun ('Fish'), who thereupon became filled with the spirit of wisdom and was able to lead the younger generation into a land flowing with milk and honey.⁴⁴

The prophet of this narrative was certainly more than a man. He bore much the same relation to Jehovah that Yima did to Ahura Mazda. He was a leader upraised by the Almighty to establish the chosen seed in an earthly paradise. Moses, like Yima, became presumptuous and was therefore put to death. But his people were not left without a guide and protector, for, before the prophet died, he yielded up to a younger replica of himself that supernatural strength which corresponded to the Glory of Yima, that power which later fled from Saul to David. It may be that there are grains of actual fact to be found in the story of Moses, but in the main the prophet, like Yima, should be ranked only a little lower than the Yazatas. He is a humanized god of fertility, and his adventures are founded on a cult.

The inscriptions of the Sumerians relate that before the Flood their rulers were deities. After that event the sovereignty was sent down from on high. These pre-diluvian monarchs had reigns of enormous length.⁴⁵ The ancestors of Noah were similarly long-lived. Adam had reached the ripe age of a hundred and thirty before he begot the son named Seth ('Seed') whose remote descendant stranded on Ararat. The father of mankind lived on for more than eight centuries after the birth of Seth and had numerous other children, male and female, whose issue apparently perished in the Deluge. Between Seth

and Noah were eight intervening males of whom nothing is known except their names and their colossal ages. According to the figures in the Biblical narrative these ten generations covered a period more than four times as long as that from the birth of Christ to the presidential election of 1932.⁴⁶ So that whatever shreds of history may be attached to the Hebraic worthies from Noah down to Moses, apparently the previous patriarchs were as purely mythical as the kings of Sumer prior to Utnapishtim.

No story has taken a stronger hold on the human imagination than that of Adam and Eve and their ill-fated sons. But none has been more difficult to fathom. The best that could be made of Adam was to call him a noble savage who at first implicitly obeyed the commands of his Creator and was rewarded by a life of ease and a beautiful wife to keep him from being lonely. But she, poor credulous creature, was deceived by the blandishments of the Serpent and not only tasted the forbidden fruit, but persuaded her husband to follow her example. When taxed with the offense, he owned up to it, but put the blame on Eve in a most ungallant fashion. And the reason that men and women were prone to sin, and could only be saved by the death of the Redeemer, was that they shared the imperfections of the original pair, and were involved in the curse inflicted on them as a proper punishment for their sin.

Not only does this story put Adam and Eve in a most unfortunate light, but it reflects little credit on Jehovah. It represents him as an obscurantist attempting to dwarf the mental growth of the race he had formed in his image. He also appears as a jealous and arbitrary tyrant. According to the account in *Genesis*, our original ancestor was an ethical moron till he had eaten the forbidden fruit. By a divine decree, its mortal taste brought death into the world and all our woe. Jehovah apparently preferred to govern by inhibitions and not to appeal to the reason. A progressive Creator would have escorted Adam directly to the Tree and made him acquire a moral sense by munching. Nor, as the record stands, was it apprehensiveness that knowledge might lead mankind into temptation which

caused Jehovah to inflict so drastic a penalty. It was fear that Adam might oust him from his throne. 'Behold,' he said, 'the man has become as one of us, to know good and evil.' And in panic lest his creation should eat of the tree of life, and so become his equal, he drove him out of Eden, to till the ground from which he had been taken.

An additional stumbling-block is the fact that the *Book of Genesis* gives a double story of Creation. The version in the second chapter, which contains this cryptic myth, is derived from the Jehovistic Document perhaps composed as early as the ninth century B.C. The other, which immediately precedes it, is from the Priestly Document written after the fall of Jerusalem in 597 B.C., when the Assyrians under Nebuchadnezzar had transported the conquered Jews to Babylon. This wholly omits the tale of Adam and Eve and the garden made for their delight, does not call Jehovah by that name, is silent in regard to Cain and Abel, and alters the order of creation. According to this later narrative, God on the fifth day made the fish, the birds, and the animals. On the sixth he created man in his own image, male and female, and gave them dominion over all living creatures. According to the Jehovistic version, the first inhabitant of the earth was Adam. The rest of the animal kingdom was formed for his diversion, and each new species was brought to him in Eden to be named. But Adam, not unnaturally, objected to being alone in Paradise surrounded by mated beasts. And so, as a concession to human frailty, the Lord created Eve. This final step occasioned the fall of man and the disillusion of the deity, who apparently concluded that he had been too hasty in declaring that his work was good.⁴⁷

The Prophets make no mention of the story of Adam and Eve nor do they refer at all to Cain and Abel.⁴⁸ And in the latter respect they are in agreement with the fifth chapter of *Genesis* which begins with the statement that it is the book of the generations of Adam. Disregarding the rest of the universe, it concentrates on humanity, and states that God created man in his own likeness, male and female, and blessed them and called their name Adam. This genealogical tract gives Seth

as Adam's eldest son and from him traces the family-tree of Noah. Cain and Abel are utterly ignored. It is true that the latter died without issue and hence was of little importance in tracing Adam's seed. But the preceding chapter of the *Bible* records the marriage of Cain and chronicles his descendants. Their names are curiously parallel to those which are set down in the roster of the posterity of Seth. Both lists include an Enoch and a Lamech. In one case the father of Lamech is Methusael, in the other Methuselah. The Cainian stock contains an Irad and a Mahajael, the Sethite a Jared and a Mahaleel. Considering the variations in spelling of ancient proper names, which were frequently transmitted orally, it looks as if these pedigrees were the same, and that hence the ancestor of the human race, according to the Hebrews, was a son of Adam called both Seth and Cain. This might explain why the grandson of Seth was called Cainan. It seems deplorable taste to revive a family scandal by thus perpetuating the name of a fratricide. It would have been more appropriate to have had the boy named for Abel, since when Seth was born Eve said, 'God hath appointed me another seed in place of Abel whom Cain slew.' ⁴⁹

Besides the curious similarity between Cain and his brother Seth, there is a striking parallel in the fates of Cain and of his father. Both commit an unforgivable crime and as a result are banished by an outraged deity. In each instance, as a further penalty, the furrows that they plow are made unfruitful. 'Cursed is the ground for thy sake,' Jehovah says to Adam. 'Thorns and thistles shall it bring forth to thee, and thou shalt eat the herb of the field.' ⁵⁰ And in like fashion the Lord declares to Cain, 'And now art thou cursed from the earth, which hath opened her mouth to receive thy brother's blood from thy hand. When thou tillest the ground, it shall not henceforth yield unto thee her strength.' ⁵¹ This suggests the blight that descended upon the fields at the annual slaying of Tammuz, which was only removed when he came to life again.

These striking coincidences would be accounted for if it could be established that the stories of Adam, and of the sons of

Adam, were based, not on historical events, but on an annual ritual, and that hence we were dealing, not with human beings, but with deities of increase, who suffered the same harsh fate in all their incarnations. That Cain's descendants, at least, endured the same destiny as the founder of their line is implied by the lament of Lamech, the grandson of Cain's grandson. It is all that we know concerning him except the names of his wives and of his trio of sons; Jabal, the father of the dwellers in tents and of the cattle-breeders; Jubal, the father of those who play the harp and the organ; and Tubal-Cain, who introduced the forging of brass and iron. These three are obviously culture-heroes, which is the historian's way of saying gods. Their father seems to have inherited the propensities of Cain, and even to have surpassed his ancestor; since, out of the blue, he suddenly exclaims, 'Hear my voice, ye wives of Lamech, hearken unto my speech; for I have slain a man to my wounding, and a young man to my hurt. If Cain shall be avenged sevenfold, truly Lamech seventy and sevenfold.' ⁵²

Since Adam means 'man' in Hebrew,⁵³ the closest analogue to the tale that is told about our primal parent is the Persian account of Gaya Maretan ('Human Life') created by Ahura Mazda in the form of a boy of fifteen. His relations with his maker were always amicable and he did good service in repelling fiends and especially in destroying a frightful demon. But it had been ordained from the first that his life should only last for the space of thirty years. So in spite of the fact that he had committed no sin, when the destined day arrived, he was slain by Angra Mainyu. From his body came all the metals and particularly gold, which was his essence or seed. It fertilized the earth and so produced the first human pair, Māshya and Māshyōi.⁵⁴ The hero of this story is not a man but a god who dies and rises again. And his life of thirty years apparently corresponds to the number of days in the cycle of the moon. If Adam belongs in the same category as Gaya, he is not human but divine.

The primeval Persian was not so virtuous in his second incarnation. When Ahura Mazda permitted Māshya and Māsh-

yōi to emerge from the tree which brought forth human beings and divided their fleshly links so that henceforth they became not one but two, he told them that they were the ancestry of the world and that they were created perfect in devotion. But later they fell from grace through the tempting of wicked demons, and offered sacrifice to Angra Mainyu. This brought upon them a curse of impotence that lasted fifty years. When children at last were born to them, they ate the first pair of twins. Ahura Mazda punished them for this barbarity, but permitted them to have other sets of twins whose offspring peopled the earth.^{ss}

There is in this account an extraordinary tree. A deity interposes to cleave the woman from the man. The first couple sin through the temptation of demons. Their creator curses them because of their evil conduct, yet permits them to become the ancestors of mankind. The differences between these creation myths of Persia and Palestine are nevertheless so marked that it seems highly improbable that one was borrowed from the other, though they may have been derived from a common source. However, this cognate myth increases the probability that Adam and Eve were supernatural beings like Māshya and Māshyōi.

A variant of the myth of the first human pair is the history of Yima who combined the careers of three Biblical characters. Like Adam, he had a special Paradise where his Eve was Aramaiti, the goddess of the earth. But he is also said to have wedded a demon by whom he had monstrous offspring, just as Adam, according to the *Apocrypha*, married Lilith, the queen of the Underworld, by whom he begot only devils. He is again like Adam in committing an unpardonable offense through the promptings of a serpent, the reptilian Azhi Dahāka corresponding to Lucifer. He resembles Noah, since, being warned by the Lord that a deluge was impending, or, according to other accounts, a severe winter, he made the animals come two by two into a specially constructed refuge. And he was like Abel in his death, being slain by his wicked brother. Since Yima, who lived again in other heroes, was a dying god like

Gaya Maretan, and also like his Vedic doublet Yama, this analogy also seems to indicate that Adam was in truth a deity.

A story in the *Atharvaveda* points in the same direction. Purusha ('Man') by being sacrificed created the universe, the divinities Agni and Soma, and the four castes of men.⁵⁷ He corresponds to the Rigvedic Manu ('Man'), who was also called Yama ('Twin'), the deity of death and resurrection who, like Osiris, ruled the world of souls.⁵⁸ If these apparently parallel myths offer any criterion, Adam's true sin was age, not disobedience. His power of giving fertility was sapped by the passage of time and had to be renewed by his sacrifice. And he was born again as his own son who, in the fullness of time, was similarly slain.

If this was the original form of the Hebraic myth, it has been strangely distorted. The departure to another world of these men who were deities is a temporary setback to human progress, but their return or reincarnation more than makes up for it. They are benefactors of humanity, and turn lamentation to joy. Adam did just the reverse. The guilt of his crime was shared by his descendants and thus they lost their birthright of happiness and ease. Henceforth they were a prey to sin and death. Their original ancestor did them the greatest possible wrong, since, though he gave them being, he also deprived them of bliss. His rash and ungrateful conduct occasioned the Fall of Man.

The cult of the dying god had for one of its objects the freeing of the people from handicaps due to their violation of taboos. It is therefore disconcerting to find a myth apparently based upon it which is used to explain the origin of evil and sin and death. But the transformation is not unprecedented. It also occurs in the story of the Cretan fertility-god, Dionysos or Zagreus, as related in the Orphic poems,⁵⁹ which, like the books of the *Bible*, originated in southwestern Asia. A comparison of this sacred legend with that in *Genesis* affords a possible solution to the puzzling myth of Adam.

Crete, according to this tale, was the home of the original men, the sons of Earth and Sky. They were called the Titans,

a word which has been connected with the Greek *titanos*, meaning white clay or dust, though the theory now accepted is that it signifies 'kings.'⁶⁰ Like Adam they were entrusted with the sovereignty of the earth, but were false to their trust, and suffered the vengeance of Heaven. Zeus had made them the guardians of his infant son, the child of that Proserpina who ruled the Underworld. Soon after his birth he climbed the throne of Zeus and clutched the thunderbolt in his tiny fingers. 'So, still a babe, he was a second Zeus, and sent the rainstorm,' says Euripides.⁶¹ But, in spite of his precocity, he could not cope with the Titans, who, bribed by the jealous Hera, attacked their sacred ward as soon as his father was safely out of the way. To elude them, their victim transformed himself into a number of shapes, becoming first an adolescent Zeus brandishing the *aegis*; then the begetter of Zeus, the ancient Kronos, sending down showers of rain. But the Titans persisted in their fell design. So he took the forms of various animals: a lion, a horse, a horned serpent, a tiger, and, last of all, a bull. In this final form the Titans tore him to pieces, and devoured his bleeding flesh. His sister, Pallas Athena, managed to save his heart, and took it to Olympus as evidence of the crime. According to one account, it was there consumed by Zeus, who thereafter gave birth to a second Dionysos, destined thenceforth to share his sovereignty. Another tale declares that Semele — a name which signifies 'earth'⁶² — swallowed the heart and thus conceived Dionysos. In any case, the upshot was the same. For Semele, the bride of the bladed thunder, was consumed by the embrace of the god of lightning, so that her baby, miraculously preserved, was born from the thigh of Zeus.

As for the Titans, their temerity received its just reward. The fires of the avenging lord of heaven reduced them to heaps of cinders. And when from the dust to which they had returned the human race was formed, the baser nature of man arose from that evil clay. Yet, according to the Orphic creed, the case of humanity was not entirely hopeless. Since the Titans, after all, had been children of the sky, there was still a sacred spark in the creature shaped from their ashes. He might achieve

divinity by the sedulous practice of virtue and by the faithful performance of secret rites mystically communicated to the ascetic priests. Through their guidance, the sin of murdering a god might eventually be cleansed and the purified spirit, united with the World Soul, would attain to eternal power and peace.

This Cretan myth of the Fall of Man is even more complicated than the Hebraic version. But fortunately its origin can be traced. It was one of the many stories told to explain a cult. Indeed, whenever you analyse a myth you find a cult behind it. Incidentally this explains the basic difference between the spirit of antiquity and the spirit of today. The former expresses itself in myth, the latter in scientific research. For primitive man was the slave of superstition, and had no knowledge of cause and effect. Since he attributed every happening to supernatural agencies, he believed that the secret of prosperity was to dominate the Otherworld by means of sorcery, while the modern man masters the world about him by utilizing its natural resources. When a plague of locusts devoured his crops, the pagan turned to oracles to discover what crimes had been committed and what sacrifices should be offered. The farmer of today would consult an agricultural college to find what spray would be most effective. The cult recommended by the oracle would eventually be incorporated in a story about the gods, while the farmer's spray would prove a contribution not to folklore, but to agrarian statistics.

In the case of Dionysos-Zagreus, the cult consisted in rending a bull apart and devouring his dismembered body. The victim was no ordinary beast, but an incarnation of the deity. Nor were the priests and initiates — daubed with white clay or gypsum to represent the Titans — mere actors in an annual passion play. The eater was one with the eaten, the slayer with the slain. The Bakchoi of the Mailed Priests tore asunder the youthful Bakchos. Zeus consumed a doublet of himself that his victim might be reborn. Thus the killing and eating of the god was not viewed as a crime by the ancients, but rather as a pious duty. But with the dominance of dualism

the slayers of the god were regarded as his enemies. In the Assyrian festival of Bel-Marduk, the sacrificer of the sheep who represented that god was compelled to flee for his life.⁶³ In the festival of the Agriona at Orchomenus the priest of Dionysos pursued the female descendants of Minyas, and had the right to kill those whom he overtook. For the three daughters of Minyas had refused to join the Bacchic revels, because of which offense they were driven mad by the god. In their frenzy, they had killed and eaten the son of one of them,⁶⁴ their victim clearly representing the deity himself, so that they correspond exactly to the Titans. The sin of deicide was fastened on a scapegoat, precisely as in the Bouphonia at Athens the axe and knife that slew the sacred ox were solemnly brought to trial, condemned, and drowned in the Ægean.⁶⁵

The myths of Adam and of Dionysos are alike in this respect that in both the sky-god avenges the eating of something tabooed or sacred. In the first case it is a miraculous apple which gives its consumer the strength of a god. In the second it is the body of his own divine son, a food which has a similar effect, since the Titans absorb from it the *mana* or essence of the victim. If the apple, like the bull in the Dionysian cult, represented the offspring of the deity, the two myths would be essentially the same, and the Hebrew tale would reflect the Sumerian cult of Dumu-zi or Tammuz which was adopted by the Assyrians in the worship of Ashur or Bel-Marduk.

Substituting an apple for an animal victim was not unprecedented. The Thebans adored Herakles under the name of Mēlios ('The Apple God') and offered apples at his altar. The custom is said to have originated when the Asopus River was so swollen that the ram, which was the usual victim, could not cross its raging current. It was then recollected that the apple was called by the same name — *Mēlon*. So the worshippers stuck four chips in an apple to look like a ram's legs and two to serve as horns. The imitation proved acceptable, and from that time an apple became the customary offering.⁶⁶ The usage was not confined to Thebes, however, for the Athenians, on at least one occasion, gave Herakles an apple instead of the

usual victim which was normally a bull. Herakles is closely linked with the apples of the Hesperides ('Daughters of Evening') planted when Zeus was wed, which the hero-god plucked from a serpent-guarded tree in a garden beyond the edge of the world. This myth apparently represents a cult, the sacrifice of a god which restored that source of fertility, the golden apple of the sun. Thus the apple which was offered to Herakles appears to have been a form of the god himself, as was the bull which was sacred to Dionysos.

Herakles was not the only god who figured as a fruit. The apple was also closely linked with Apollo, who bore the appellative Maleates ('Of the Apple Tree'). At Delphoi the apple tree was sacred to him. It has been suggested that his name may mean no more than 'apple.' And Apollo and Dionysos, though distinguished by the Greeks, appear to be two names for the same deity.⁶⁷

In folklore the apple is not associated with the acquisition of a moral standard. Its usual connotations are far from spiritual. It is the emblem of Aphrodite, the sign of sexual love. In the *Volsung Saga* the tree into which Odin thrusts his sword is called interchangeably an apple-tree and a child-tree.⁶⁸ In a German children's song the stork declares that it comes from an apple tree. The identification of 'apple' and 'offspring' underlies many superstitions. When a Servian girl takes an apple from a suitor, it means that she agrees to marry him. Greek maidens on their wedding day invoke the golden apple. A Jugo-Slavian fiancée, on receiving the engagement ring, offers an apple in return. In Sicily on Saint John's Day young women throw apples from their windows, each believing that the man who picks it up is the one whom she will marry. In Scotland one of the Hallowe'en customs is for a girl to eat an apple while looking in a mirror, thinking that she will see in its depths the face of her future husband.⁶⁹

The apple is also the symbol of renewal or resurrection. It was by eating the apples of Idunn that the gods of the *Eddas* contrived to retain their youth. When she was carried off to the Otherworld they began to grow old at once. But Loki,

the god of fire, to whom they owed their plight, brought Idunn and her apples back again, and thus repaired the ravages of time.⁷⁰

The etymology of the word 'apple' has never been determined. I suggest that it comes from the Sumerian AB.PIL or AP.PIL, signifying 'offspring of fire' or 'fruit of fire,'⁷¹ and was so named because of its red color. But since the deity of death and resurrection represented the element of flame, the word also had the sense 'son of the sacred fire'; that is to say, 'son of god.' This is exactly the meaning of Dionysos, and it was probably the meaning of Apollo. Thus the apple eaten by Adam exactly corresponds to the youthful divinity on whom the Titans feasted, and also is related to the children devoured by Māshya and Māshyōi. Adam had been warned that if he ate the apple he would most surely die. His banishment corresponds to the blasting of the Titans, who were really one with their victim. In cult it was the killing of the god that he might rise again.

There is one difficulty, however, with this interpretation. The apple is not connected with Dionysos either in cult or in legend. But apple was a generic name for fruit, or rather for red fruit. What Eve gave to Adam, according to one tradition, was a crimson pomegranate. The pomegranate, like the apple, was the symbol of generation and fecundity. Indeed it has been claimed that, wherever the apple is mentioned in legends concerning marriage, the pomegranate is meant.⁷² And the pomegranate was sacred to Dionysos. The Greeks declared that it sprang from his blood when the Titans dismembered him.⁷³ The plucking and eating of a pomegranate was therefore an act precisely equivalent to the slaying of that son of Zeus who was his second self.

The pomegranate introduces still another form of the myth. According to Phrygian legend,⁷⁴ it sprang from the blood of Agdistis when that hermaphroditic son of Zeus and of Mount Agdos was emasculated by the gods. Nana, whose name means 'earth,'⁷⁵ picked up the fruit and placed it between her breasts. It immediately vanished, and she found that she was pregnant.

Her baby was Attis, the Phrygian form of Tammuz. His name, which signifies 'father,' has been interpreted as meaning that he was the Father God reborn.⁷⁶ At Hierapolis in Syria this deity was worshiped under the name of Adon ('Lord'), the Adonis of the Greeks, and his father went by the name of Adad Rimmon.⁷⁷ Adad appears to be a gunation of the Sumerian AD ('father').⁷⁸ Rimmon, in Syrian, means 'pomegranate.' Adad Rimmon may therefore be rendered 'Great Father Pomegranate.' Ten Syrian kings in the time of David were named for this deity. His symbols were the bull and the pomegranate. He is spoken of as the monarch of the gods, and identified with the sun. The pomegranate also links him with Ba'al or Bel, who is shown in a Numidian painting distributing pomegranates and grapes, considered as emanations of his divinity. Near Damascus, Rimmon was one of the names for Tammuz, and here the mourning for that god occurred at the beginning of the sixth month, which was the time for harvesting pomegranates.⁷⁹

The parallels with the Cretan myth are too close to be accidental. Agdistis, son of Zeus, who got his name from Mount Agdos, plays the same rôle as Zagreus, son of Zeus, the deity of Mount Zagros.⁸⁰ The slain god is reborn when a pomegranate springs from his blood and is gathered by a goddess of the earth. So Zagreus receives a second birth when Semele eats his heart. And the Phrygian Attis has been identified with the Cretan Dionysos by Sokrates, by Plutarch, and by Clement of Alexandria.

The part that the pomegranate plays in the myths of the Phrygian Attis and of the Cretan Dionysos fully clears up the apparent divergencies in the two accounts of the Fall of Man, and also shows that there is a real relation between the myth of Adam and the legend of his Persian and Vedic equivalents. The Apple of Knowledge was a pomegranate which represented Tammuz. Adam committed the same sin as the Titans, the devouring of the youthful god of growth. And just as the Titans were a form of Zeus and cloaked the crime of the ruler of the skies, so Adam was a second Jehovah. Yet, mystically, in the Hebrew tale, as in the Cretan one, the sacrificer was one with

the sacrificed. The banishment of Adam represented the descent of Tammuz to the Underworld, exactly as did the eating of the apple. In reality there was no crime at all. The deity of increase killed himself that he might rise again. By his death, he made the earth fruitful. The Thunderer descended in the lightning to wed the goddess of the Abyss, and the son whom he thus engendered was the vigor of the Spring. Bel cut off his head and so made all things new.

The story of the murder of Abel is merely a repetition of the plucking of the apple which in cult was equivalent to the slaying of the god. His name has been interpreted as cognate with the Assyrian *aplu* ('son').⁸¹ *Aplu* was taken from the Sumerian and means literally, 'male offspring.'⁸² The name Abel, if derived from Sumerian, signifies, 'son of fire' or 'son of Bel.'⁸³ Cain, more properly Kain, occurs in Hittite as a loan-word from Sumerian and has the meaning 'thunder.'⁸⁴ The literal sense of the signs is 'the voice of the storm.'⁸⁵ It is probably the source of the Arabic *kain* ('smith'),⁸⁶ for the first smith was a thunder-god. In Egypt he is Horus, the lord of the sun, of the lightning, and of the smiths; in India *Tvashtṛ*, the forger of Indra's bolt. The Biblical Cain is thus a deity, as is indicated by Eve's remark at his birth. This is usually translated, 'I have gotten a man from the Lord,' but in the *Hexapla* it is rendered, 'I have gotten a man, even Jehovah.'⁸⁷ The thunder-divinity strikes down a doublet of himself and receives the same curse which fell on Adam and on the Titans. Since he was the seed or rebirth of his father, he suffered the same fate. Cain was not a murderer, for he was not a man. He was a god who annually died in order to restore fertility.

It is no wonder that the fantastic tale of Adam and Eve and the Serpent and Cain and Abel was omitted from the Priestly Document. The religious reformers who drew it up were emulating Zarathushtra. They were trying to purify the faith of the Hebrews and to give it a form which would be uniquely theirs and which, while setting a lofty moral standard, would also serve to bind the Jews together so that they would form a united nation. Therefore they attempted to suppress all traces of the

Sumerian cults which had been accepted by all the Semitic peoples, and to eliminate especially the account of the Sacred Duel which summed up in myth the rite of the dying god. The Persian reformers had tried to do the same, but their high abstractions were not concrete enough to appeal to the general public. Hence the old beliefs persisted applied to the Yazatas and to the legendary heroes of Iran. In Palestine similar factors produced similar results. While the Land of the Two Rivers was split up into rival city-states, each worshipping its local manifestations of the spirit of fruitfulness, the Hebrews adored a single god who was both the giver of plenty and the personification of righteousness, as it was then understood. But the grosser superstitions could not be cleared away. They persisted in distorted, euhemerized forms as chronicles of the mighty leaders of Israel in the pseudo-history of the *Pentateuch*. And they thus became part of the pagan heritage handed on to the Church of Christ.

The Jewish religion, as outlined in the *Old Testament*, offers higher moral guidance than any creed which had preceded it. It presents the two basic ideas of modern progress, that the world is governed by a single force and that there is no limit to the possibilities of development. It opposes the old conception that all the wheels would stop if they were not wound up each year by a miracle. It places an admirable emphasis on human dignity, on social interdependence, on charity, on the equal rights of men in matters of the spirit. But it could not escape altogether from the ancient domain of magic which surrounded it at its birth, and from the savage self-centeredness which gave it the chance to survive. From the latter sprang that intolerance and blind fanaticism which has so greatly impeded the course of civilization. From the former came the belief in vicarious atonement by means of the sacrifice of a scapegoat. And out of this grew the pessimistic notion that men by nature were desperately wicked, the doctrine of original sin expressed in the myth of Adam and echoed in the legends of patriarchs and kings. It arose from a misconception, and it is surely time that the matter was set right. For close on three millenniums the story has

cast unmerited blame on man, on woman, and on the Deity. Adam was not the first of the black sheep, vamped into sin by a pretty woman in league with the powers of evil, a repentant prodigal barred from Paradise by his pitiless Creator. On the contrary, he represents the highest ideal of paganism. He was a god who died to save the world, not from sin, but from hard times.

Gilbert Murray has pointed out⁸⁸ that one of the processes in the formation of the *Pentateuch* was the conversion of the myths shared by all the primitive Semites into a testament of Jewish monotheism. Such a step was quite essential to the rise of a new nation, a fact which today we are apt to overlook, for patriotism, though lacking a ritual, has become the most powerful faith of modern times. The feeling of race, however, was still in its infancy. The bond of a common worship was the only permanent tie, and the priests of Palestine fully recognized that nationality must emerge from cult. The only thing they could build on was the fertility-rite of death and resurrection which was the basis of worship in every city-state. Yet side by side with this was a growing tendency to transform the principal deity into a deathless ruler who delegated to his underlings, specialized forms of himself, the annual task of reviving vegetation. In China this led to the rise of the immortal Shang Ti, later replaced by a triad; in India all the gods succeeded in vanquishing death, though they still were vaguely identified with the sacred sacrifice. The Egyptian Rā only perished as Rā-Osiris and Rā-Horus. And in Persia, above all, Ahura Mazda, who so closely resembles Jehovah, successfully ascended the rainbow bridge, while Mithra and Anāhita remained below to continue the older tradition. The Hebrews may have borrowed this idea, or they may have developed independently a fundamental religious trend. At all events, they revised their sacred legends, eliminating with the greatest care the traces of dualism. And like the Persians they turned the ancient divinities, who engaged in annual duels with their doublets, into human heroes contending with the Almighty, with each other, or with national enemies. And just as the mythical emperors of Persia were said to have

THE RAINBOW BRIDGE

been impelled by Ahura Mazda and punished for presumption, so the Jewish patriarchs were represented as having been directed, and chastised for their own good, by this new deity whose secret name was cryptically expressed in the appellative Jehovah. He was naturally regarded as a being of infinite might, eternally existing, who had created the world, but afterwards elected to make the Jews his only followers, exacting from them implicit obedience and causing them to flourish above all peoples so long as he possessed their unswerving loyalty. By his exaltation the anthropomorphic gods, whom the Semites had taken over from the Sumerians, were debased into mortal ancestors of the race, and from their rituals there was constructed the pseudo-history of Israel.

Jehovah might have been displaced, for practical purposes, by a deity like Mithra, for the records of the *Old Testament* show how often the Jews reverted to the displaced fertility-rites, and the idea of the future Anointed One, or Messiah, is plainly a legacy from the older cult, like the similar tradition that is maintained by the Moslems. Chance, however, assisted the deathless god to conquer the dying one. To prevent disunion of the newborn state it was decreed that no sacrifice would be valid unless it were performed in the Temple at the national capital. The destruction of that Temple effectively ended the custom of slaying beasts as forms of a deity, the Tamuz cult which irrationally survives in the Jewish taboo of pork. It came at a time when the Prophets were violently attacking the taking of life in religious ceremonies. The result was the substitution of gift sacrifice and prayer for the more barbaric rite, and the development of a formalistic religion which centered on a god invisible and immortal, the animating force of the Jewish people. Thus Jehovah, in ascending the rainbow bridge, became impersonal, like Allah, and Brahmā and Buddha, but retained his hold on his worshippers, unlike Ahura Mazda. Monotheism became a living force with its single god, the ideal of a race, who might be later exalted into the ideal of humanity.

Chapter VIII

BEAUTY AND THE BOAR

'I'll build thee a silver sty,
Honey,' said she;
'And in it thou shalt lie!'
'Hunc!' said he.

Old English Rhyme

ONE method of accounting for ancient myths is to interpret them as poetic tales by which the simple-minded savage attempted to explain the various phenomena of nature; the rising and setting of the sun, the waxing and waning of the moon, the turning of the stars in their courses, the succession of the seasons, the falling of rain, the sprouting of seeds. According to this theory our primitive ancestors regarded the phenomena about them with the impersonal curiosity of a healthy modern child and, having logical minds but no scientific knowledge, attributed them to the activities of gods and goddesses who were invisible, immortal beings superior to men, but of the same physical shape and mental makeup. Such being their point of view, it followed inevitably that they made no attempt to learn the facts of life, but spent their leisure time in evolving fictions. The tribal bards vied with each other in concocting pretty stories whose heroes and heroines were the local deities. And their efforts in this direction were supported by the public, who listened to their recitals, just as, according to certain scholars, the neolithic hunters, because of their love of clever draughtsmanship, granted a share of the daily bag of game to the artists of the caverns.

Unfortunately for this hypothesis, the researches of archæologists and the studies which have been made of backward peoples fail to reveal any enthusiasm for literature and art in the dawn of civilization. Instead of being more enlightened than people of today and more appreciative of imaginative flights,

our remote progenitors were more materialistic and also more literal-minded. The artist was honored, not through admiration of the beauty of his designs, but because they were regarded as magically effective in augmenting the food-supply. And similarly the aboriginal author who improvised a tale about the gods was not esteemed for his literary talents, but for his ability as a sorcerer. His story reproduced a ritual, and hence was as good as the ritual itself. The Egyptians believed that a scorpion's sting could be cured by repeating the narrative of how Horus, when fatally bitten by one of these poisonous creatures, was resuscitated by Thoth.¹ The similar history of the snake and Rā would heal the bite of a serpent.² The Teutons maintained in like fashion that the lameness of a horse could be relieved by reciting the ancient lay of how the colt of Phol or Balder dislocated its foot and was restored by a rune of Odin's.³ In later days, myths were told for entertainment and pictures were painted to please the eye. But both began as utilitarian methods of increasing prosperity or of averting danger.

Folktales or fairy-stories are later versions of myths, with mortals, assisted by magic gifts, taking the place of pagan gods. In these fabulous chronicles, as in their archaic prototypes, free invention plays a much less important part than is usually imagined. The underlying ritual has lost its significance and passes as pure fancy. But often the incidents which today are told to amuse young children were formerly enacted as parts of a solemn rite. They are crystallized layers of human thought in which are preserved, like fossils, the forms of vanished beliefs.

One of these monuments to bygone cults is *Beauty and the Beast*. A young girl is given in marriage to a mysterious suitor who turns out to be a monster. He treats her with the greatest consideration, keeping discreetly out of the way and gratifying her every whim. In spite of his animal shape, his tact and kindness finally win her heart. When he learns that she loves him, he tells her to cut off his head. She reluctantly does so, thus breaking the magic spell and permitting him to regain his natural shape, that of a handsome young prince. And they are happy ever after.

The myth which forms the foundation of this tale is also the ultimate source of the nursery rhyme about the lady who loved a swine and built him a silver sty. Its original heroine was the goddess Ishtar whose lover Dumu-zi, the Semitic Tammuz, supplied the Turks with the word *domuz* ('pig').⁴ The Harranians who worshiped Tammuz tabooed the flesh of swine, but once a year they killed and ate a boar in a solemn ceremony.⁵ In the festival of the death and resurrection of Bel-Marduk, whose cult was closely related to that of Tammuz, a pig was killed on the eighth day of Nisan.⁶ It was said to symbolize a criminal killed at the same time as Bel,⁷ and this criminal can only have been Kingu, the foe and victim and doublet of Bel-Marduk in the ritualistic duel that was a sacrifice. The head of this slaughtered pig was bound to the door of the temple of Beltis or to the neck of her statue.⁸ Thus the victim was identified, not only with the god, but also with the goddess, the male and female forms of the force of fertility. The head of the Beast was struck off by Beauty and he came to life again as the god of the new year. The lady who loved a swine and espoused him by slaying him was the goddess of love and fruition whose sacred animal was a sow. And the new incarnation of her victim was both her husband and her child.

In Egypt, Set, who took the form of a pig, was the sacred malefactor who perished with Osiris, the deity equivalent to Bel-Marduk. Set was the masculine counterpart of Neith, the older form of Isis, and like Osiris he was a phallic god, representing fertility, who was put to death in an annual ceremony that he might rise again. In his porcine form he was sacrificed to Osiris and also to the moon, the fructifying planet corresponding to that god. In the latter rite the flesh of the victim, tabooed at all other times, was consumed by the worshippers. Set was therefore a name for the cult-animal who represented Osiris, just as Tammuz was for the victim who typified Bel-Marduk. He was the Beast who was offered up by Beauty, the swine whom the lady loved. As Tammuz was slain by Ishtar,⁹ so he fell at the hand of Isis. And as Tammuz, her son and her brother and her husband, was restored to life by Ishtar, so Set, who

was also Osiris, was resuscitated by Isis as the god of new beginnings. The hero of this primitive passion play was not a man but a pig. But in Egypt, as in Mesopotamia, the rôle was sometimes played by the ram or by the bull,¹⁰ likewise embodiments of the strength of reproduction.

The people who introduced into Europe the cult of the pig-god Tammuz were not the Egyptians, however, but the Phrygians, a race of unknown origin. According to Greek belief they were akin to certain Thracian and Makedonian tribes, and the recorded examples of their speech and of their art support this ancient view. There is no conclusive evidence, however, as to whether the common ancestors of the Phrygians and their Greek relatives, the Thracians and Makedonians, came from the east through Armenia or originated in Europe. At the time of the Trojan War the Greeks of Ionia and of the Troad regarded the Phrygians as a primordial race and considered their language the oldest speech of mankind. The city of Mykenai, which gave its name to the Mykenanian Age, is said to have been founded by Phrygian immigrants who were also the builders of Tiryns and of Midia ('City of Midas'). The ruined walls of the Phrygian capital, inscribed with the name of Midas, are partly Cyclopean like those of Mykenai, so that archæological evidence agrees with this tradition.¹¹ Now the name of Midas, which frequently recurs in the lists of Phrygian kings, suggests that this puzzling people were related to the Medes, and so does the Phrygian cap that Mithra wears. And Phrygia rose on the ruins of the great Hittite kingdom established when the Medes entered southwestern Asia. Mithra, though he adopted Phrygian fashions, owed his name and nature to the Sumerian Mitra. Possibly racially, and certainly culturally, the thalassocracy of Phrygia sprang from that race of sea-kings who sailed up the Persian Gulf, led by the wily Oannes, to introduce writing and the use of metals and kiln-burned brick, and the cult of the dying god.

The Tammuz who was worshiped in Asia Minor and in the isles of Greece underwent a division of personality. In Lydia and Phrygia he was known as Attis ('Father'), in Syria and Cy-

prus as Adon ('Lord'), a title which the Greeks transformed to Adonis. These two appellatives were treated as the names of separate divinities. Both die and rise again in cult and myth. To the casual eye, they were paragons of male beauty with nothing about them that suggested pigs. Nevertheless, these handsome young gods were deities of the sty.

The center of the Syrian cult of Adonis was Byblos, the oldest city of Phoenicia. Its foundation was attributed to El, a title which, like Adon, means 'god' or 'lord'.¹² The rites of Adonis were performed in the temple of Astarte or Ishtar. It had been built, according to tradition, by Cinyras or Thias, a king of Assyria, the begetter of the god. He is also known as Belus, the Semitic Bel ('lord'),¹³ and is certainly identical with El, whom the Greeks equated with Kronos, the Romans with Saturn.¹⁴ Cinyras also founded Paphos in Cyprus, another seat of the worship of Adonis. According to one account he wedded the daughter of the king, who bore him two sons, Oxyporos and Adonis, and three daughters into the bargain. The latter incurred the wrath of Aphrodite who forced them to lie with strangers, and Adonis, while still a youth, was slaughtered by a boar through the anger of Artemis.¹⁵ The two avenging goddesses are doublets, both representing Ishtar. And the boar was no common beast, but another form of the deity he slew.

In the ordinary version of the myth, Cinyras plays a more active part. It is said that his daughter Smyrna ('Myrrh') did not honor Aphrodite, and was therefore inflamed with a passion for her father. Concealing her identity, she managed to lie with him. When he discovered that he had been guilty of incest, he pursued his erring daughter, vowing that he would kill her. But the gods took pity on her plight and changed her into a myrrh-tree. According to one chronicler, Cinyras struck his metamorphosed daughter with his sword and by that blow begot Adonis.¹⁶ Another declares that the bark of the tree was pierced by the tusk of a boar and that thus the god was engendered.¹⁷ The baby shattered the trunk when it was born just as the pig-god Set leaped out through a wound in his mother's side.

Aphrodite, who had arrived to gloat over her arboreal victim, was so impressed with the beauty of the infant that she put him in a chest and entrusted him to the keeping of Persephone. But Persephone was likewise captivated and refused to give him up. Zeus was requested to arbitrate the matter. He decreed that for a third of the year Adonis must remain with Persephone, another third he must spend with Aphrodite. The rest of the time he could be his own master. But Adonis decided to give to the goddess of love and beauty every moment when he was out of the Underworld. Afterwards, while he was hunting, his thigh was pierced by a boar, and he perished of that wound.¹⁸

There were several stories, however, about the death of Adonis. Near Aphaca in Syria where the river Adonis rises and where the mangled body of the god is said to have been buried, a ruined rock-carving depicts his last encounter. He stands with spear in rest confronting not a boar but a bear, the sacred beast of Artemis.¹⁹ In other words, he is the victim of a goddess. And two redactions of the myth declare that he was killed by a god. One retains the boar, but says that it was Ares, the lawful husband of Beauty.²⁰ The other declares that Adonis fell at the hands of Hephaistos,²¹ that deity of fire who also enjoyed her favors. The lover of Aphrodite was struck down by the lover of Aphrodite. Incarnate Fertility destroyed itself that it might live again.

The rites of Adonis at Byblos are thus described by Loukian:

They say that the deed that was done to Adonis by the boar befell in their land, and in memory of that ill happening, each year they beat their breasts and mourn, and enact the rituals, displaying great sorrow throughout that country. And when the beating and weeping is over, first they make offerings to Adonis as if he were dead, and then, on the next day, they pretend that he is alive and bring him out into the air, and shave their heads as the Egyptians do at the death of Apis. And all the women who will not permit their hair to be cut off must pay this penalty. On a certain day they must offer their favors for sale, but none may buy except strangers. The purchase-price is treated as an offering to Aphrodite.²²

The date of the mourning for Adonis at Byblos was fixed by the discoloration of the river named for him. According to modern travelers this happens in the spring. At that season the red earth washed down from the mountains makes its waters a bright crimson so that the stain is visible far out to sea. It was attributed to the blood of Adonis annually slain by the savage boar.²³ That it was a springtime ceremony is also indicated by Ovid's statement that the scarlet anemone sprang from the blood of the dying god.²⁴

In this vernal ceremony, as in the rite of Osiris, the dead god was supposed to beget a new form of himself. The woman presenting a sacrifice of hair, or prostituting herself to a stranger who simulated Adonis, was playing the rôle of Ishtar or Aphrodite. She sacrificed the emblem of reproduction as did the male deity. In Cyprus the part of Adonis was played by the kings of Paphos following the example of Cinyras, who, incidentally, is said to have slain himself when he discovered his crime. The rite was a Sacred Marriage and also a sacrifice.²⁵ In the Adonis ritual at Alexandria, the ceremony began with the joyous wedding of Aphrodite. Then came the lament for the tragic death of the bridegroom. And finally the image of the god was borne to the sea by weeping women and committed to the waves.²⁶ Fertility was dead, but it would be born again.

Though the King of Paphos played the part of Adonis, he did not die like that god. An animal victim perished in his place. And that victim was a pig. It was given to Aphrodite on April second, and was said to represent the boar who killed Adonis.²⁷ Yet Loukian declares that in Syria the pig, instead of being held in detestation for having committed this murder, enjoyed a sanctity that was quite unique so that it could not be sacrificed or eaten on ordinary occasions.²⁸ We are told that in Cyprus Aphrodite 'took particular pleasure in pigs,'²⁹ though according to the tale she should have hated them. But Adonis was begotten by a boar, according to one account, and he was a form of Tammuz, to honor whom the Harranians in an annual ritual offered up swine, feasting upon its sacred flesh.³⁰ As Frazer has pointed out, an animal ceremonially slain as a god's

adversary is very apt to be the god himself, and when it is killed as a solemn sacrifice once and once only in the year, the victim is divine and is slain in the character of a deity.³¹ The pig received by Aphrodite was the theriomorph of Adonis. She was the Beauty who wedded the Beast, the lady who loved the swine. And their marriage was a magic spell to renew fertility.

In Egypt the deity of increase under the names of Set and Baba and Osiris was united to Isis through the severing of his organs of generation. She extracted the seed of the male deity and thus begot the son who was the reincarnation of his father. Adonis, according to the myth, was struck in the groin or the thigh by the boar that was his doublet. This is a euphemism. The wound of which he died was the tearing away of his genitals. The Greeks have glozed over this barbarous detail. But it comes out clearly in the myth and cult of that more primitive avatar of Tammuz, the Phrygian deity Attis.³²

According to Loukian, it was not Cinyras but Attis who introduced into Syria the worship of Adonis. The temple of Hierapolis, he declares, was built by Attis after Rhea, the goddess of the earth, had deprived him of his virility. He dressed himself like a woman and traveled about the world performing strange rites, relating his sufferings, and singing Rhea's praises. In Syria he reared himself this shrine and declared that it was in imitation of him, and in honor of his mistress, that the Galli practiced the ritual of castration.³³

In the Babylonian Epic of Creation, Mummu or Apsū, the father of all the gods, was killed by Ea who severed his manly parts, tore the crown from his head, and took away his glory.³⁴ This combat resulted in the generation of the new deity of the sky, Bel-Marduk, who in his turn was slain in a Sacred Marriage to Ishtar-Tiamat, and rose again from the dead, emerging from her womb. Another form of the myth relates how Ishtar, being scorned by Gilgamesh because she slew her lovers, sent against him the bull of Anu, the god of heaven. The hero overcame it and treated it as Horus treated Set. Thereupon Ishtar with her maidens, whose names were Joy and Seduction, mourned for its fate,³⁵ as they mourned for the fate of Tammuz.

Hence the emasculating of a victim who represented the powers of reproduction appears to have been practiced in Mesopotamia just as it was in Egypt, another link in the chain of evidence which indicates that Tammuz, Osiris, Attis, and Adonis were different names for a single deity.

The barbarous rite which caused the rebirth of her lover also brought about the birth of Aphrodite. Kronos lopped off the male members of Ouranos, his father, and cast them into the salty sea, thus engendering the goddess. She was known as Philomedes ('Member-Loving') because she sprang from the members.³⁶

This similarity in the myths and cults of Adonis and Aphrodite is due to the fact that originally they were indivisible. The Sumerian deities had no settled sex, because the sexes were united in them.³⁷ Ishtar, like Neith, was both male and female, for she represented procreation. A hymn to Ishtar composed for the services in her temple at Nineveh says that she has a beard like the god Ashur. A later Phœnician inscription refers to King Astarte. And there was in Cyprus a statue of Aphrodite in which she was represented in woman's garments, but with the attributes of a man. Aristophanes called her Aphroditos. The Pamphylians likewise worshiped a bearded Aphrodite. This explains how the Greek Hermaphrodite arose.³⁸ It would seem that in the sacrifice of Adonis the male deity was not the only victim. A boy and a girl, or a boar and a sow, were barbarously slain as representatives of the deity of coition. And this is verified by what is known of the Phrygian myths and cults.

The earliest mention of Attis is in a poem by Hermesianax of Colophon who lived in the fourth century B.C. We know it only through Pausanias. It related that the god was born without the power of generation. In Lydia he was initiated into the mysteries of the Great Mother. She honored him so highly that Zeus grew jealous and sent a boar that slew him. Because of this the Galatians of Pessinus will not eat the flesh of swine.³⁹ Another account makes him a Phrygian herdsman who gained the Great Mother's love by writing a hymn in her praise. He was killed, as in the older version, by a boar, the em-

issary of Zeus. The goddess mourned for him and buried him.⁴⁰

Arnobius relates a more elaborate myth citing Timotheus, the Eleusinian priest, who asserted that it came from secret books of vast antiquity and embodied the very heart of the mysteries. Zeus, he declares, wished to lie with the Great Mother who slept in security on the holy rock of Agdos at the crest of Mount Dindymus. Unable to reach her refuge, he was forced to sleep alone. His seed gushed out upon the ground and generated Agdistis, a fierce hermaphrodite respecting neither gods nor men and ruthlessly destroying whatever hindered his lust. He became so grave a menace that the gods decided on strong measures. Bakchos was given the task of taming him. By pouring wine into a spring he intoxicated his victim and while he lay in a stupor so bound him with a cord that when he awoke and sprang up, his manly parts were severed. From the spot where they fell sprang a pomegranate tree. Nana,⁴¹ the daughter of Sangarios, a river deity, plucked one of the fruit and placed it between her breasts. It instantly disappeared, and she found that she was pregnant. When this became evident her father denounced her as a wanton and shut her up in a cell to die of hunger and thirst. The gods, who were in part responsible, preserved her life, however. When she bore a son, her pious father exposed it, but a she-goat suckled the baby. He was called Attis, and as he grew in age he also grew in beauty till there was no one half so good-looking as he. Hence he won the love of Agdistis, now resigned to being merely a woman. Attis, however, left her and went to Pessinus, where he fell in love with the daughter of the king, who naturally was overjoyed at getting so handsome a husband. Agdistis was not invited to the wedding, but she came to it and drove the whole company mad. The king castrated himself and the daughter of his concubine cut off her breasts. Attis seized the shepherd's pipe of Agdistis which had produced this spell and rushed away in delirious flight. Falling at length beneath a pine, he severed his organs of generation and tossed them to the cause of the disasters, saying, 'Take these, Agdistis, 'twas for their sake thou didst stir up this storm of frenzied mischance.' Shortly

afterwards he expired from loss of blood. The repentant Agdistis begged that Zeus would restore Attis to life. But the most that she could obtain was that his body should never know decay, that his hair should continue to grow, and that his little finger should be endowed with perpetual movement.⁴² Contented with this, perforce, Agdistis buried the body at Pessinus, ordaining that the death of Attis should be commemorated in annual rites and that a priesthood should worship him as a god.⁴³

A much euhemerized version of this story is given by Diodorus.⁴⁴ King Maion,⁴⁵ lord of Phrygia and Lydia, had a daughter by Dindymus, his wife. He exposed her on a crag where wild beasts nourished her till she was rescued by women herding cattle, who called her Kybele⁴⁶ after the mountain where they found her. When she reached maturity she fell in love with a boy named Attis, or Papas, who got her with child. Meanwhile, her royal descent had been discovered and she was summoned to the capital to be reinstated by her repentant father. On discovering her condition, he had Attis executed. Kybele fled, frenzied with love and grief, clashing a tambourine and uttering frantic cries. Thereupon the land was wasted by fire and pestilence. An oracle declared that these afflictions would not cease till the inhabitants had buried Attis and honored Kybele as a goddess. Since the body of Attis had vanished, they made an image of him over which they held an annual festival of mourning and expiation. They also raised altars to Kybele, brought her yearly offerings, and built her a temple in Pessinus.

In his *Fasti*, Ovid asks the Muse why the Galli mutilate themselves. She answers by relating the following tale: Attis and Kybele, who lived in the heart of a Phrygian forest, were united by the bonds of a purely platonic love. She wished to make him the priest of her temple and therefore persuaded him to take the vow of perpetual chastity. But he was false to it through the blandishments of the dryad Sagaritis. The angry goddess took vengeance on both offenders. She killed the nymph through the wounds that she dealt her tree. Attis fled to the summit of Mount Dindymus, believing that he was pursued by the Furies. There his long hair caught on the bough of a tree.

With a sharp stone the frantic fugitive hacked off his virile parts exclaiming that he had deserved a bloody penance, and that it was appropriate that the members which had caused his offense should perish.⁴⁷ Elsewhere Ovid says that violets sprang from the blood of Attis, just as, when the Cyprian goddess sprinkled the blood of Adonis with nectar, 'a flower sprang up of blood-red hue such as pomegranates bear which hide their seeds beneath the tenacious rind.'⁴⁸ And he cites another legend which relates that the body of Attis turned into a pine-tree which ever after was dear to Kybele, the mother of the gods.⁴⁹ For the pine is a phallic tree⁵⁰ which, when it drops its cones, portrays the emasculation of Attis.

This goddess, who with mindful wrath avenges the injury of her slighted form, bears little apparent relation to the lovely deity described by Shakespeare in *Venus and Adonis*. But Minucius Felix, who was the first Christian to write in Latin, makes her out even worse. He was naturally unsympathetic to pagan divinities, especially when they were feminine. Attis in his account shows the stuff of a Christian martyr. He refuses to lie with the Mother of the Gods who is represented as a repulsive witch, and in consequence she castrates him. Servius, on the other hand,⁵¹ in his account of the killing, supplies her with a perfect alibi. Attis, high-priest of Mater Magna, is pursued by a lustful king. They slay each other by inflicting the usual injury. The other priests discover the corpse of Attis lying beneath a pine-tree and, at the command of the goddess, commemorate the event in an annual festival.⁵²

Arnobius has a second tale about Attis which parallels the first except that the Great Mother here replaces that other embodiment of herself, Agdistis. She is said to have been formed from one of the stones which, in the Grecian story of the Flood, Deukalion and Pyrrha threw backwards over their shoulders at the behest of Themis. Shortly after that event she fell in love with young Attis. As she could read the future, she knew that he would perish on the day that he took a wife. So when she heard that he was marrying Ia, the daughter of King Midas, she resolved to intervene. On the day appointed for the cere-

mony the gates of the city were securely barred to prevent the entrance of uninvited guests, since Attis shrewdly suspected that the banns might be forbidden. Nevertheless, the Great Mother forced her way to the festal hall, lifting the walls of the city on her head which ever since has worn a mural crown. On seeing her, the bridegroom went insane. Leaving Ia at the altar he rushed away to the woods and beneath a pine performed the rite of the Galli. He had bled to death before the Great Mother had found him. She took up the severed parts, wrapped them carefully in a cloak, and piously buried them, thus causing violets to spring up and wreath the tree. It was on this account that pine-trees were garlanded with violets at the festival of Attis. The forsaken bride now appeared upon the scene. She covered the lifeless body with softest wool in order to warm it again, and when the vital heat did not return, she bewailed her lover's fate, and finally killed herself. Her blood was also turned to violets. In pity of their woe, the Great Mother buried them both. An almond-tree sprouted from their common grave as a symbol of the bitterness of death.⁵³

Julius Firmicus Maternus represents the Great Mother as a queen of Pessinus who loved the handsome Attis. When he would not respond to her passion, she killed him in the traditional way. But after his burial he came to life again.⁵⁴

Both a resurrection and an apotheosis are contained in a version credited to Ovid, which is cited by the Emperor Julian and by the philosopher Sallust.⁵⁵ Attis is said to have grown up on the banks of the river Gallus, where he had been exposed. There he was seen by the Great Mother who fell in love with him. She brought him many presents, including a cap of stars, and commanded him never to leave her and never to play her false. But being infatuated by a nymph, he lay with her in a cave. The lion of the Korybantes, who happened to witness their tryst, told the Great Mother that Attis had done her wrong. To punish the offense, she drove him mad and caused him to emasculate himself. Considering that this act atoned for his fickleness, she thereupon conducted him out of the cave and made him a demi-god.

The religion of Anatolia, which is based on the tragic love affairs of this deity who died and rose again, has thus been analysed.⁵⁶

Its essence lies in the adoration of the life of Nature — that life subject apparently to death, yet never dying and reproducing itself in new forms, different and yet the same. This perpetual self-identity under varying forms, this annihilation of death through the power of self-reproduction, was the object of an enthusiastic worship, characterized by remarkable self-abandonment and immersion in the divine, by a mixture of obscene symbolism and sublime truths, by negation of the moral distinctions and family ties that exist in a more developed society, but do not exist in the free life of Nature. The mystery of self-reproduction, of eternal unity amid temporary diversity, is the key to explain all the repulsive legends and ceremonies that cluster round that worship, and all the manifold manifestations or diverse embodiments of the ultimate single divine life that are carved on the rocks of Asia Minor, especially at Pteria (Boghaz-Keui).... There must be in the ultimate divine nature the male element as well as the female.... From the union of these two originates the daughter-goddess. But even this is not sufficient: the son is also needed, and he is the offspring of the daughter-goddess and her father. The story of the life of these divine personages formed the ritual of the Phrygian religion. In the mysteries, the story was acted before the worshipers by the officials who played the parts of the various characters in the divine drama.... The Oriental and especially the Phrygian Mysteries met the natural and overwhelming desire for a rational system by their teaching of the divine unity-in-multiplicity. The social side of the Phrygian cult was rejected by the Greeks; the acts and ceremonies remained to a considerable extent the same, with the meaning and spirit changed, just as the Aphrodite of Praxiteles retained the attitude and gesture of the rude Phœnician idol. All that gave elevation and ideality was added by the Hellenic genius to the Phrygian mysteries and to the Phœnician idol. But with all their ugliness, the Phrygian Mysteries must remain one of the most instructive and strange attempts of the human mind in an early stage of development to frame a religion, containing many germs of high conceptions expressed in the grossest symbolism, deifying the natural processes of life in their primitive nakedness, and treating all that

veiled or modified or restrained these processes as impertinent outrages of man on the divine simplicity.

The Phrygian victims annually slain as representatives of Attis or Tammuz, and of the nymph or princess who was the dying form of the Great Mother or Ishtar, were not necessarily human. The sacrifice of men is never primitive,⁵⁷ but arises when the sacred beast has been so anthropomorphized that only the creature made in the image of god seems an adequate understudy for him in the drama of his death, that drama which was performed as a magic spell to cause the renewal of fertility. Even at this sophisticated stage a figure might take the place of flesh and blood, as in the rite of Adonis at Alexandria. Or the sacrifice might be a mere pretense as in the mimic killing of the priest Attis at Rome in the spring festival of the Mother Goddess.⁵⁸ Or the emphasis might be placed on the Sacred Marriage rather than on the slaying of the begetters, as in the rite of the resurrection of Attis performed at Rome on the twenty-fifth of March. It was called the *Hilaria*, the Festival of Joy, and was a time of license when everyone might do or say what he pleased.⁵⁹ In the older form of the cult this was certainly carried further. 'The fabulous union of the divine pair was simulated, and, as it were, multiplied on earth, by the real, though temporary, union of the human sexes at the sanctuary of the goddess for the sake of ensuring the fruitfulness of the ground and the increase of man and beast.'⁶⁰

Where an animal was offered, the chosen one must have originally been a pig. The early accounts of how Attis was slain by a boar and the significant fact that his votaries at Pessinus could not eat the flesh of swine would make this probable. And it is abundantly proved by the sacrifice of pigs, in the cults of Adonis and Tammuz, coupled with similar taboos on pork. The myth suggests that the victim was gelded as evidence of the fact that reproduction perished with this porcine deity. Thus was consummated the marriage of Beauty and the Beast, or of the lady and the swine she loved.

But pigs were not the only animals which were offered up in the character of Tammuz. The ram and the bull also figured in

his cult as symbols of begetting, and he was likewise embodied in the grape and the pomegranate which were tokens of fruitfulness. One of the oldest names of Ishtar was Geshtin-anna ('The Vine of Heaven'),⁶² and Ba'al is depicted in a Numidian painting letting fall grapes and pomegranates as emanations of his divinity.⁶³ The festival of Tammuz of which Ezekiel speaks falls at the time when pomegranates were gathered.⁶⁴ Attis is identified with the pomegranate in myth, and possibly also in cult. He was similarly equated with the pine tree because of its phallic significance, just as Adonis, being a dying-god, was linked with the myrrh-tree, for myrrh was an important ingredient in the Egyptian *kuphi* which was used in mummifying, and was burned before Rā at sunset.⁶⁵ In the worship of Attis at Rome, on the twenty-second of March a pine tree was hewn down, swathed with bands of wool and wreathed with violets, and carried by members of a sacred guild to the temple of Kybele, where it was honored as a divinity. The effigy of a young man was bound to the trunk as a further indication that the tree stood for Attis.⁶⁶ Rams and bulls were also slain, in Phrygia, as representatives of this deity.⁶⁷ In Rome, the culmination of his mysteries was the sacrifice of a bull above a pit into which the worshiper had descended that he might be drenched with the blood and so purged of his sins and reborn into eternal life. The bull was gelded and its testicles played the same part performed by those of Set in the Egyptian rite of resurrection.⁶⁸ This tauric redeemer, like the boar, was an embodiment of the force of reproduction.

The tree, the image, and the animal victim were all combined in the cult of that Syrian goddess who was designated as Ishtar, Attar, Beltis, Kybele, Atargatis and Astarte and who was known by the Greeks as Aphrodite.⁶⁹ The ceremony at Hierapolis is thus described by Loukian:

The greatest of the festivals that they celebrate is that held in the opening of the spring; some call this the Pyre, others the Lamp. On this occasion the sacrifice is performed in this way. They cut down tall trees and set them up in the court; then they bring goats and sheep and cattle and hang them up living in the trees; they

add to these birds and garments and gold and silver work. After all is finished, they carry the gods around the trees and set fire under; in a moment all is in a blaze. To this solemn rite a great multitude flocks from Syria and all the regions round. Each brings his own god and the statues which each has of his own gods.⁶⁹

Thus in many metamorphoses the god of increase was slain that he might rise again and renew fertility. In dying he wedded the goddess of the earth and begot his son and successor. And though we no longer burn the phallic tree and have replaced the living animals by colored candles or electric lights, the expurgated cult of the goddess Ishtar still survives in our Christmas festivities as a show to make children marvel, just as the nuptials of bristled Adonis and beautiful Aphrodite are recounted in a fairy-tale and in a nursery rhyme.

It was through Egypt and Anatolia, with their parallel cults of Osiris and of Adonis-Attis, that the worship of the dying god was introduced into Greece. But with it came the traditions of Persia and Palestine. As a result, this pair of primitive deities are out of place among the Olympians. Their hideous rite, the mutilation of a young man and a girl, was practiced down to modern times in certain backward regions of Africa⁷⁰ and Russia.⁷¹ The Greeks not only reformed this repulsive cult, but turned the legend into a moving story of human love and death. They kept the magic spell, but the victim was a boar, the animal archetype of procreation, and instead of being incarnate fertility, a sort of Hellenic Osiris, he played the part of Set, and was annually slain to revenge the shocking murder he had committed. In the myth he became a casual wild beast sent by a god to punish the sin of pride. Aphrodite was exalted to the skies, as the apotheosis of physical loveliness, and Adonis, so far as his body was concerned, was made worthy of her passion, though his cult prevented him from following her to heaven. Thus arose the largely humanized narrative of a chaste young man, a beautiful woman spurned, a fatal accident and a long lament. Incidentally, we are told that the woman was a goddess. There could not be a better illustration of how religion fosters liter-

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ature when what was once a cult becomes the subject of a tale that is told for its human appeal.

In the Phrygian Mysteries, the victims who were slain were simply the representatives of sex, the Yang and the Yin in their most concrete shape. The Asiatic Greeks turned the male organ into a man, the female one into a goddess. In an early stage the two are united in one person, a sacred hermaphrodite, like Tammuz-Ishtar, who corresponds to the Chinese Yang-Yin, the Vedic Dyāvāprthivī, the Egyptian Neith, the Persian Mithra-Anāhita, and the Hebraic Adam. As a result the type of Adonis in art is distinctly effeminate. But since the deity was represented by a priest-king, unequivocally male, the central rite became a Sacred Marriage in which the ruler incarnating at the time the force of heaven, of fire, and of the sun, was wedded to the goddess who presided over the earth, the waters, and the moon. The bridegroom perished, presumably by proxy, but the bride, who was spared, revived her husband, thus restoring vegetation. The magic spell, thus modified, completed the final soaring arch of the rainbow bridge that mounted from earth to the celestial regions. Aphrodite, who shortly changed her name to Hera, thus ridding herself of her too human lover, was the first of the Hellenic Pantheon to reach the heights of Olympus. Zeus was not far behind, and after these the other deities followed, two by two, unknowing that Fate had played them a scurvy trick and that Nemesis, dogging the steps even of the Immortals, would out of their ascent produce their downfall.

Chapter ix

THE ROOTS OF OLYMPOS

Great God! I'd rather be
A Pagan suckled in a creed outworn;
So might I, standing on this pleasant lea,
Have glimpses that would make me less forlorn;
Have sight of Proteus rising from the sea
Or hear old Triton blow his wreathèd horn.

WORDSWORTH

SINCE hope and memory are the chief sources of pleasure, those who are disillusioned regarding the present have always looked forward to some future age when the wicked will perhaps have ceased from troubling, or backward to some distant epoch of time which may be remoulded nearer to the heart's desire by overlooking inconvenient data. And one of the favorite stopping-points in turning back the clock has been the era when Pan still piped in Arcady, the pagan days when there were no inhibitions and everyone was simple and sincere. Without bothering to wonder how and why this blissful state of innocence evolved, men have vainly longed to recapture the vanished charm, and to re-create today that world of serenity.

It is the spell of the 'leaf-fringed legends' of Hellas which still preserves the dream of a golden age. When Keats declared that beauty was truth, and that to learn this fact was an adequate education, he voiced an idea which might never have been expressed had it not been for the Greeks. Their gift to civilization was the sense of loveliness which has never proved to be wholly compatible with moral fervor, our heritage from the Hebrews. The latter adored uncompromising virtue in the guise of a tribal god, the former peopled Paradise with gracious human shapes and remodeled the orgiastic cults of Egypt and of Anatolia into calm and stately rites. They freed their pantheon from the mark of the beast, which per-

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sisted by the Nile, turning the ancient theriomorph of the god, who in pre-Sumerian days had been a totem, into a mere attendant animal. And having allowed their divinities to taste of the tree of life, and so become immortal, they installed them in the Eden of Olympos. Poets and sculptors vied in making them worthy of worship, and the very temples breathed forth the spirit of repose and contemplation. There seemed no reason why so sane a creed should suffer serious change, why these deities of felicity might not enjoy forever the realm which they had won.

But what the Greeks attempted to adorn was something which was not, in itself, either true or beautiful. They had nothing to build on except fertility-magic, based on the old superstition that the annual sacrifice of a sacred victim — representing the sky who wedded the earth, or the sun who married the moon — would cause a second birth of the martyred divinity and the consequent reawakening of the forces of production. This ceremony had risen from the custom of killing and eating the totem, and was the keystone of paganism which could not be removed without destroying the fabric of faith. The Greeks were therefore compelled to retain the cult so as to work the spell. But they were free to account for it by new interpretations, and this they proceeded to do, with the utmost ingenuity. Since, according to their theories, a deity could not die, the sacrifice was regarded as a gift, a feast provided for him, or else as a service, revenge on his enemy. The story of his marriage, death, dismemberment, resurrection, and triumphant apotheosis, became the theme of quantities of myths regarding the loves and hates of these sacred supermen. They were all to the same effect, but, since the appellatives of the force of fertility had been individualized, the deities of Greece became the actors in a tragedy as multiform as the human imagination. The dark and light strands when intertwined by poets resulted in an iridescent web effectually concealing the naked barbarity of the original creed.

One of the oddest phenomena of Greek mythology is the

form assumed by that dualistic trend which gradually divided the helpful divinities of the sky from the harmful spirits of earth. The Hellenes were just as rigid as the Persians in distinguishing celestial and chthonian powers. But the contest between the two was said to have taken place when Zeus and his allies gained their ascendancy. After their overwhelming victory, the conquered Titans were taken back into favor by the Olympians and by mankind. They were still looked upon with a certain distrust and fear, but they were worshiped no less than their exalted supplanters, and called not demons but daimons or heroes. The main differences in cult between the two sorts of gods, who in Persia were permanently pitted against each other, were that the heroes received their tributes on certain definite days, that their victims were sacrificed with their heads held down towards the ground, and that when they had been slain they were not eaten, whereas the gods might receive offerings at any time when their intercession was needed, the beasts devoted to them were killed with their heads turned towards the sky, and the rite was followed by a communal feast.¹ In tradition, the gods were regarded as thoroughbreds and the heroes as produced by misalliances. And while the gods remained aloof on Olympos their illegitimate sons were associated with Mykenaian sites and regarded as the founders of Hellenic dynasties. So that instead of being ranked as evil, destructive fiends, like the minions of Azhi Dahāka, they were transformed into illustrious founders of a new civilization.

The oldest surviving evidence as to the relative status of deities and heroes is found in the epics of Homer who is supposed to have lived in the ninth century B.C.² He represents the heroes as definitely human, fighting and killing each other like any mortals. They are moved by the motives that sway mankind today. Though the gods are almost equally anthropomorphic, both in bodily shape and in mental characteristics, and though they contend with heroes on fairly even terms, they have the power of sending plagues upon them, and of turning the tide of war in favor first of one side and then

of the other. Aphrodite and Hera are credited with causing the Trojan War, and the determining of its final outcome is attributed to Zeus. But this might be nothing more than a reflection of the superstitious attitude of mind in the heroic age. Troy has been identified with the sixth city on the site of Hissarlik, and excavations have shown that this was burned at about the time when Priam's stronghold is said to have been destroyed, an event which Greek chronologists have fixed at 1192 B.C.³ It was located where the valley of the Scamander intersects the valley of the Simoïs and perfectly corresponds to the Troy described by Homer.⁴ Hence the opinion naturally arose that Homer's *Iliad* was based on history and that the fantastic element had been introduced by degrees in the tale's successive retellings through the desire of various poets to please their audiences by turning plain facts into picturesque fictions.⁵ The logical result of this assumption was the theory that most of Homer's heroes were real individuals and that the cult which they afterwards received was engendered by Homer's epic through the alleged inclination of mankind to deify great warriors.⁶ This implies that the rise of the hero-cult was a movement wholly Greek, by which certain eminent men attained, in the hierarchy of the Hellenes, a divinity considerably below that of the deathless gods, who presumably had existed from the beginning. According to this hypothesis, there was no relation whatever between the cults of these two classes of beings who were worshiped by the Greeks.

There is one odd fact about the heroes, however. They are detached from actual chronicles as were the mythical emperors of Cathay and the paladins of Persia. 'There is a far-off island of knowledge, or apparent knowledge; then darkness; then the beginnings of continuous history. . . . It is the same wherever we turn our eyes in the vast field of Greek legend. The "heroes" who fought at Thebes or Troy are known; their sons are just known by name or perhaps a little more: Diomedes, Aias, Odysseus, Calchas, Nestor, how fully the tradition describes their doings, and how silent it becomes after their

deaths!' ⁷ When the records of a race begin with tales of marvels, in which gods and goddesses decide the course of events, then, after a gap, continue with narrations of the lives and deaths of normal human beings, it has frequently been found that the purple patch at the start is made up of myths derived from rituals. This has proved to be the case in Sumer, China, India, Egypt, Persia, and Palestine. Moreover in all these countries the basis of epic tradition has been cult, not history. It seems advisable to look more closely into the worship of the hero before deciding that it had no relation to the development of paganism outside the realm of deep-browed Homer.

As early as the eighth century B.C., Hesiod testified to the difficulty of finding a place for the heroes in the history of Greece. Zeus he declares made the first men out of gold. When these became extinct their easy lot continued, for they lived again as guardian spirits loved by the blessed gods. They were succeeded by the silver race who went astray, like Yima, and consequently were destroyed by Zeus. He relented sufficiently, however, to raise them from the dead. They too were blessed spirits who were honored by mankind, although they were forced to dwell beneath the earth. Then came the brazen men who sprang from ash-trees, great warriors, but hard of heart. When, by their violence, they had destroyed each other, they went down to Hades, leaving no name. So far, each race had been worse than its predecessor. And the beings of iron who represented the men of Hesiod's time showed an increased degradation. The four races thus described correspond exactly to the four ages of Sanskrit tradition.⁸ But, between the wielders of bronze and the degenerate moderns, Hesiod introduces a different species, 'a godlike race of hero-men who are called demi-gods, the race before our own.' He declares that some of these fell in the land of Kadmos, at seven-gated Thebes, contending for the flocks of Oidipous and that others died at Troy for the sake of bright-haired Helen. To the survivors Zeus gave a fair abode in the Islands of the Blessed, apart from men and from the deathless

gods, where they were ruled by Kronos released from his former bonds. And like the men of gold and the men of silver they were honored by a sacrificial cult.⁹

Thus, within a century after Homer's time, the heroes were regarded as minor deities associated with Kronos, the predecessor of Zeus. Now the displacing of Kronos was something more than a mere bit of fantasy, or the reflection of a racial conflict. This ruler of the Titans inherited the traditions of Set and of Kybele. He was the new fertility-god who put an end to the old one by unmanning him with an adamantine sickle, and was later sent to the Otherworld by his son. He represents the dying god who was worshiped at his tomb. There his Sacred Marriage was celebrated each year, there he was put to death and mourned by his votaries, and there he rose again as his only-begotten son, thus turning their sorrow to joy. The heroes were likewise adored at their graves in a yearly ceremony and their sepulchers were holy places. That of Erechtheus was in the temple of Athene at Athens,¹⁰ that of Hippolytos was beside the shrine of Aphrodite there,¹¹ that of Oidipous may have been in the sacred dwelling of Demeter, at Eteonus, which received the name of the Oidipodeion.¹² Pyrrhos ('The Ruddy One'), the son of Achilles, lay beneath the altar of Apollo at Delphoi.¹³ Adrastus was entombed in a sacred grove, and the tragic choruses there performed above him were afterwards transferred to Dionysos.¹⁴ This evidence suggests that the hero-cult was older than that of the Olympians. Like Kronos, their ruler, they may have been dying gods whose supposed adventures were based on a ritual.

According to epic chronology, the first of the Greek heroes was Kadmos, the founder of the Kadmeia, the nucleus of Thebes.¹⁵ The only thing in his fantastic story that borders on history is the claim that he introduced the art of writing. It is at present supposed that the Greek alphabet arose as a modification of the Phœnician script,¹⁶ though no one has suggested that Mykenaian cities were settled by the Semites of Phœnicia. Moreover, the date when Thebes was founded by Kadmos is

at least six generations before the Trojan War, and the Phœnicians did not come into contact with the Greeks till the eighth century B.C.¹⁷ The Phœnicians, like the Assyrians, the Hebrews, and the Hittites, were heirs of the civilization of the Sumerians, who invented the art of writing, but they based their language on the pictograms which in Mesopotamia, and throughout Asia Minor, developed into the cuneiform script. These same archaic signs, transmitted, through the Minoan script, to the Greeks in the Mykenaian age, and to the Phœnicians, through the inroads of the Ægean Sea Tribes, in the thirteenth century B.C., became the basis of the Greek alphabet.¹⁸ There appears to have been little spiritual kinship between the Greeks and the Phœnicians, but much between the Greeks and the Sumerians who introduced the use of copper, brick and stone, invented the arch, the dome, the vault, the lyre and the game of chess, composed the earliest epics, founded a new religion, and in their sculpture showed 'the definite striving after beauty which inspired the Greek artist, but is seldom found among the natives of hither Asia.'¹⁹ Perhaps the forerunners of the Greeks, the founders of the Mykenaian cities, were an offshoot of that alert and ingenious race who brought a new civilization into the valley of the Euphrates. And in that case, Kadmos, the first of the Greek heroes, was probably a god of death and resurrection.

The name Kadmos has been derived from the Hebrew *gedem* ('east'),²⁰ but the stories told about him bear no relation to any recorded myth of the Hebrews or of the Phœnicians, while they strongly suggest that Sumerian deity who became the chief of the Babylonian gods and was represented by a statuette of a man holding a snake.²¹ Like Marduk, Kadmos fights against a serpent identified with the aqueous element in a combat which corresponds to a Sacred Marriage. When the guiding cow, by lying down, had indicated the site where his city should be founded, he went to the nearest spring for the necessary water to purify that cow for sacrifice. The spring was guarded by a snake, or dragon, who was the son of Ares. It resented the intrusion of a stranger, and in the

resulting struggle met its death. To appease the wrath of the war-god, the Theban hero agreed to go into bondage for a year. This made so favorable an impression that, when the time was up, the injured deity presented Kadmos with the hand of his daughter, Harmonia. One of the children resulting from this union was Agaue ('Illustrious'). She married Echion ('Snake-man') who sprang up from one of the dragon's teeth. She had a sister called Ino ('Spring')²² who married Athamas. His name is Tammaz in Ionian,²³ and the story of how his subjects attempted to sacrifice him suggest that he represents that Babylonian Tammuz who was annually mourned. Ino became the sea-goddess, Leukothea, who corresponds to Ishtar, the Great Python. A third member of the family was the goddess Semele ('Earth').²⁴ In the Orphic tradition she also is a snake, or, at least, Zeus took an ophidian form when he united with her, begetting Dionysos. Kadmos and Harmonia, the parents of these scaly divinities, fully conformed to the family tradition, becoming serpents who were transported to the Elysian fields. Their mortal coil may be resolved as follows: The dragon of the spring is one with Harmonia, and the combat there is based on the cult of Marduk in which the ritualistic duel was also a Sacred Marriage. The period of Kadmos's servitude through which he wins his bride is the normal interval between his sacrifices. The apotheosis of the pair really took place each year. This prototype of the Greek heroes is a dying deity.

The successor of Kadmos on the throne of Thebes was his son Polydoros ('Rich in Gifts'). He was also called Pinakos ('He of the Writing Tablet')²⁵ which suggests that he is his father over again. The only fact that is recorded about him is that he married Nykteis, the daughter, or feminine form, of Nykteus ('Nocturnal') who was the son of Chthonios or Hades. The offspring of this union was Labdakos ('Mutilated')²⁶ who, apparently, like Polydoros, was another form of Kadmos. The latter hero, as already noted, after his nuptial strife with Harmonia, or Ishtar, was compelled to serve her father for a year. This recalls the Athenian Anthesteria ('The Festival

that Causes Things to Bloom') when Dionysos was brought from his tomb-like temple, closed at all other times, to unite in the palace called the Ox-Stall with the wife of the king-archon. After this Sacred Marriage he was secretly restored to his chthonian abode, there to remain till the circle of the seasons necessitated his regeneration.²⁷ Dionysos was the Greek form of Tammuz-Marduk. He was dismembered after his Sacred Marriage. And that is exactly what happened to Labdakos. After begetting a son named Laïos ('Left Hand One')²⁸ whose mother is not named, he was torn to pieces by the Bakchai headed by Nykteis.²⁹ Again we are dealing with a ritual, and not with history.

From the beginning Laïos was unlucky. The throne of Thebes was usurped by Nykteus, the son of Chthonios. This tyrant not only banished Laïos but also Antiope,³⁰ who was his daughter, according to most accounts. She became pregnant by Zeus which so enraged the mortal Nykteus that she had to flee for her life like Smyrna.³¹ She took refuge with Epopeus ('He Who Sees All'), the King of Sikyon, who wedded her at once. The pursuing Nykteus was slain by this champion. He himself died from his wounds and was interred in the temple of Athene.³² This is another case of ritualistic combat after a Sacred Marriage and Antiope is another form of Ishtar.

The sons born on Mount Kithairon to Zeus, or Epopeus, which appears to be an appellative of that god, were the next saviors of the Theban State. Their mother, who had exposed them there, was captured and imprisoned by Lykos ('Light'), who had married her mother Dirke. Later she escaped, and again she was pursued, this time by Dirke, who like Nykteus was a votary of Dionysos. Dirke is merely Harmonia once more, that is to say, she is the spring of Ares where secret sacrifices were performed.³³ In the course of an orgiastic dance she encountered the fugitive and gave orders that she should be put to death by being tied to the horns of a wild bull. But Antiope's twin sons, whose names were Zethos ('Seeker')³⁴ and Amphion ('Twin'),³⁵ intervened just in time and served Dirke as she had meant to serve her daughter, Lykos was

also slain and the deliverers founded Thebes all over again, building its walls with Amphion's magic lyre, the music of which made the stones lay themselves. It is the harp of the year, like that of Susa-no-wo the cords of which were the three seasons.³⁶ And like the Ašvins, who rescued the sun,³⁷ these Theban Dioskouroi are gods of increase, restoring fertility by killing the older deities, the doublets of themselves.

Their triumph was succeeded by two Sacred Marriages. Zethos married Thebe,³⁸ eponymous goddess of Thebes. His brother, or doublet, wedded Niobe ('New Strength').³⁹ The latter pair bore twelve children, who may have been the months, and then were slain, with their offspring, by Apollo and Artemis.

Zethos and Amphion take the rôle which should belong to Laïos. He ought to restore fertility by slaying his wicked great-uncles, as did the Persian paladin Manuchehr. But he only appears in the myths as the older god, the oppressor. Thus at the court of Pelops ('Strong Lord')⁴⁰ he abducts the son of that monarch Chrysippos ('Golden Horse'). Pelops is the brother of Niobe, according to most accounts, though some of them make him her husband. His story is the myth of a vegetation-god who dies and rises again. The abduction of Chrysippos, whose name suggests the steed of heaven, is a doublet of his slaying by Atreus and Thyestes, the crime for which they were banished.⁴¹ Thus, in the island of Pelops, Laïos enacts the part which in Thebes was assumed by Lykos-Nykteus.

This was also the case in Thebes, where Laïos regained the throne after the deaths of Amphion and Zethos. He married Epikaste ('Brightness')⁴² and became the father of Oidipous ('The Swollen-Footed One') who has been made famous by Sophokles and Freud. The usual exposure was complicated by the fact that the baby was wounded in the foot, a circumstance from which he got his name. Had he been a mortal infant there would have been no point in piercing his foot instead of his heart. But his lamming, like his later blinding, was perfectly logical in the myth of a fertility-god with solar attributes.⁴³

According to his natural destiny he recovered from this first disability and killed not only the oppressor but the Sphinx ('Strangler')⁴⁴ who desolated the land. She corresponds to Dirke, the tyrant's wife. Oidipous then married his mother, the earth-goddess risen again, exactly as Tammuz did. And his history terminated with the usual tragedy, his blinding and the hanging of Epikaste. It is also normal that Oidipous's grave, in the temple of Demeter, should have been magically effective as a protection for his country.

The ritualistic duel multiplied supplies the story of Oidipous's sons and their various champions, the campaign of the Seven against Thebes. It began with a characteristic incident, the slaying by a snake of the infant Opheltes ('Giver of Increase'), also called Archemoros ('Beginner of Death'). This was avenged by the Seven. They gave the child a magnificent burial, worshiping him with altar and temenos, and founding the Nemean games in his honor.⁴⁵ The expedition ended with an event even more significant. When everyone on both sides had fallen, with the exception of Adrastus, the new ruler, Kreōn ('King'), a brother of Epikaste, sentenced Oidipous's daughter Antigone⁴⁶ to be entombed alive. She hanged herself, and the son of Kreōn, Haimon ('The Skillful'),⁴⁷ attempting to rescue her, killed himself above her body. He was said to be the handsomest man of his age. This was the sacrifice of Tammuz and Ishtar, which was also a Sacred Marriage, for they left behind them a son named Maion ('Seeker')⁴⁸ the circumstances of whose generation the mythographers found it difficult to explain.⁴⁹ In the *Iliad*, Agamemnon speaks of him as like to the immortals.⁵⁰ Indeed he resembled them as Kronos resembled Zeus. He belonged to the lineage of dying divinities who preceded the deathless gods.

The epic of Thebes with its complicated legends of the careers of Mykenaian kings has no relation whatever to history. It deals with a recurring ritual. Its heroes are not mortal men, but a series of incarnations of the deity of vegetation who died and rose again.

The tale of Troy at first sight seems on quite a different plane,

for the genius of Homer has humanized its heroes. They have definite individualities, and their deeds are recorded as those of human beings. Homer himself may have been quite convinced that the events he recorded had really taken place. And while the archæologists find nothing to confirm the accounts of the Theban campaigns they have proved that the towers of Ilion were burned. But does it follow that the Greeks, in pre-Hellenic days, forgot the local jealousies which, in historical times, caused countless civil wars, and fought for ten long years to straighten out the domestic difficulties of Menelaos?

The first thing to determine is the true nature of Helen, and on this point the evidence is clear. She was the daughter of Zeus, or Tyndareos ('Shatterer'), apparently an appellative of the wielder of thunderbolts.⁵¹ Her brothers were Kastor ('Bright') and Polydeukes ('Very Bright'),⁵² adored as the sons of Zeus, the Dioskouroi. They were constantly associated with horses. Euripides calls them the white colts of Zeus.⁵³ Their wives were the Leukippides ('Daughters of the White Horse'). Their mother was Leda the Swan, whose name is cognate with that of Leto⁵⁴ who conceived Apollo and Artemis. They and their sisters — Helen⁵⁵ and Klytaimestra⁵⁶ — were hatched from a pair of eggs. All this suggests such solar deities as the Ásvins, the Dioskouroi of the *Vedas*, who were both swans and horses and who wedded the sun-maiden Sūryā.⁵⁷ The Ásvins were chiefly occupied, as saviors, in winning back fertility and youth by means of the ritual of the dying god, the sacrifice of a sacred victim identical with themselves. Since, according to her name and nativity, Helen appears to have represented the force of generation, and since she and her brothers, who were called the saviors, were worshiped as deities, we should expect to find a myth about her relating how she was carried off by foes, and succored by the Twin Brethren, as in the Theban tale of Antiope who was imprisoned by Lykos and Nykteus and rescued by Zethos and Amphion.

That is exactly the case. As Gilbert Murray has pointed out, the kernel of Helen's story is her abduction by a ravisher

and her delivery by a pair of twins.⁵⁸ Nilsson calls her a pre-Greek goddess of vegetation whose peculiarity is to be carried off.⁵⁹ She was taken captive first of all by Theseus⁶⁰ and rescued by her brothers. A less conspicuous robber then haled her to Mount Parnon. We do not know who brought her back that time, but presumably it was a pair of twins.⁶¹ And finally she was stolen by Paris and recovered by the so-called Twin Atreidai, Menelaos, the King of Sparta, and Agamemnon, the ruler of Mykenai, descendants of Pelops, that brother of Niobe who was confused in myth with Amphion. In Hellenic times the two Spartan kings were priests of Zeus *Lakedaimon* and Zeus *Ouranios* who reigned respectively over the skies of day and night. Cook suggests that they were regarded as incarnations of Polydeukes and Kastor.⁶² If so, their ancestors of the days of legend must likewise have been the doublets of these twins. In that case the tale of Troy, like the other stories of Helen's abduction and deliverance, was based on a ritual intended to restore fertility.

In the *Iliad* Helen says that she does not see her brothers among the Achaian leaders. Homer explains that they were already beneath the life-giving earth, in their own dear native soil.⁶³ But the story of how they died is frankly myth. They had been doing abducting on their own, stealing Phoibe ('The Bright') and Hilaeira ('The Radiant'), the daughters of Leukippos ('White Horse'). The brides whom they captured thus had been engaged to Lynkeus ('Lynx Eye') and Idas ('He Who Waxes'),⁶⁴ sons of Aphareus ('The Swift').⁶⁵ Like their rivals they typify the sun and moon, the day-sky and the night-sky. There was the usual pursuit, and in the resulting struggle, Kastor was speared by Idas, but Polydeukes disposed of Lynkeus and Zeus killed Idas with a thunderbolt. Polydeukes found that his brother was dying and besought his father for aid. Zeus could not cure the wound, but promised that the twins should spend half their time beneath the earth, and half in the golden homes of heaven.⁶⁶ This is the usual legend of Adonis. Whatever Helen may have been, her brothers were clearly dying gods.

In the tale of Troy the two champions who principally oppose the Atreidai are Paris ('Twin')⁶⁷ and Hektor ('Protector').⁶⁸ Paris, brought up on the Mount of Ida ('Moon'),⁶⁹ apparently is equivalent to Idas, while his formidable brother resembles Lynkeus. They meet the same fate as the sons of Aphareus. Their slayers, however, are not the twin Atreidai, but Philoktetes ('Favoring Increase'),⁷⁰ a son of Herakles, and the bravest of the Greeks, Achilles the son of Thetis. These heroes take the place of the natural rescuers as do Amphiion and Zethos in the restoration of Laïos. But Paris aided by Apollo succeeds in slaying Achilles, exactly as Idas did Kastor. If we are dealing with a ritual, Achilles should represent the dying twin, and correspond to Menelaos, the husband of the moon.

Before considering Achilles let us examine the story of Aias the Less,⁷¹ the son of Oïleus. The Greeks connected his father's name with that of Ilion, and said that Oïleus was begotten by Apollo on the same day that this deity of flame, assisted by the god of the deep, Poseidon, reared the walls of the Trojan stronghold. Oïleus, in other words, was the counterpart of Hektor, the city divinity. The only way that his son is associated with Hektor is through his violation of Kassandra, the sister of that hero, during the sack of Troy. This rape took place in the temple of Athena. Because of his impious action, Aias was wrecked as he was returning from Troy, and drowned by the god Poseidon, who corresponds to Ea. He was buried by Thetis, but, rising from the dead, he went to the White Isle to live with Helen. His death, which was also a marriage to the goddess of the waters, was annually enacted by the Lokrians, who worshiped him as their protector in war. In the rite, a black-sailed ship, bearing black victims, was sent flaming out to sea. There was also another ceremony which was performed in the Troad for many centuries after Ilion had fallen. The Lokrians were compelled to send thither every year two girls of the Aiantioi who traced their line to Aias. The descendants of those who had owed allegiance to Hektor attempted to slay them when they landed. If successful, they burned the

victims with the boughs of a barren tree, and cast their ashes into the Ægean. But usually the Lokrian guard succeeded in saving them and brought them to Athena's temple by means of a secret passage. If this was a fertility ritual, the girls were the brides of sacred twins, a pair of dying gods. And in that case the other bridegroom must have been the greater Aias who had a tomb and a cult in the land of Ilion.

The tale of this second hero, son of Telamon, explains the name Aias. He slew himself with the sword of Hektor. From his blood sprang a purple flower on whose petals could be traced the cry, *Ai, Ai* ('alas! alas!'). This is the characteristic end of Attis. It indicates that Aias belonged to the group of Tammuz gods — Linos, Hylas, and Ialemos⁷² — who got their appellations from the lamenting cry raised in the annual mourning for their deaths. In cult, they were sacrificed, after a Sacred Marriage, and their brides were slaughtered with them. Marduk, who perished thus, was, for practical purposes, identical with Shamash, that dual deity of the setting and rising sun. And like that god, who represented the Babylonian Dioskouroi, the pair of heroes named Aias were dying divinities.

Menelaos was another of those who found refuge in the White Isle, where Helen went, after they hanged her at Rhodes. He had a temple and cult in Sparta, at Therapne, where his grave was said to be, and that of Helen also.⁷³ He is likewise said to have gained immortality, through the intercession of Hera, and to have gone with his lawful wife to the Elysian fields.⁷⁴ The only way to achieve immortality was to be sacrificed as Agamemnon was, in company with Kassandra.⁷⁵ The slayer of these two was Klytaimestra, the twin, or doublet, of Helen, that pre-Hellenic goddess whose annual victims were a man and a woman. Again we are dealing with a cult like that of Adonis or Marduk, a Sacred Wedding and a sacrifice, the characteristic rite of Sumer.

Achilles also had a Sacred Marriage, or rather three of them. Iphigeneia ('Mightily Born') was sacrificed at Aulis where she had expected to marry that paladin of Greece. This brought the fleet a favoring wind. Briseïs, the maid of Lesbos, was

stolen by Agamemnon, as Helen had been by Paris. The defrauded hero withdrew to his tent in anger, just as the solar goddess of Japan retired into a cave. Disasters resulted till the girl, or goddess, was given back again. And lastly, according to a very ancient tale, which was suppressed by Homer in his work of expurgation,⁷⁶ Achilles met his death through a fatal wedding. When he went to the temple of Thymbraean Apollo, he supposed that Priam's daughter, Polyxena, would there become his bride, but he was assassinated at the altar by Paris and Apollo. In vengeance, the Greeks killed Polyxena at his grave. Her name means 'She of the Many Guests' and, according to Gilbert Murray, she was a goddess of the Underworld.⁷⁷ Thus she corresponds exactly to Iphigeneia who was turned into Hekate by Artemis.⁷⁸ When Thetis snatched Achilles from his pyre, she bore him to the White Isle, where he became the husband of Iphigeneia according to various poets, though others say that the hero wedded Helen.⁷⁹ All these marriages reflect the rite in which a bridal couple was sent to the Otherworld to restore fertility. And the name Achilles, apparently, means the same thing as Aias, 'He of the Lamentation.' None of the Greek etymologies of his name are satisfactory. It probably comes from the Sumerian AKKIL, Assyrian *ikillu* ('cry of mourning').⁸⁰ In his cult he was annually bewailed by women, at Elis and at Kroton. Achilles was a dying deity who each year wedded, in death, the Queen of the Underworld, was mourned, and rose again as the god of the New Year.

But it was not Achilles nor any other hero who brought, at last, to a successful issue the expedition led by the twin Atreidai, and thus restored to Greece the abducted goddess of increase. The quest was accomplished by the Wooden Horse, the true taker of Troy, who perished in the moment of victory, being reduced to ashes by the flames that consumed its towers. And Troy was almost saved by certain living horses belonging to Rhesos ('Bursting Forth'),⁸¹ the Adonis-like King of Thrace. It had been foretold that if they ate the fodder of Ilion or drank of the river Xanthos, the city would become impregnable.

But on the very day of his arrival he was killed and his steeds were stolen.⁸² These opposing horses, the beasts of flesh and blood, who might have saved the Trojans, and the effigy that brought triumph to the Greeks, can hardly be considered historical. They were gods in animal shape whose sacrifice renewed the force of procreation.

The fate of Troy, from the first, was connected with white horses. Laomedon ('Protector of the People') had been presented by Zeus with four immortal ones, as compensation for the abduction of his son Ganymedes ('Giver of Brightness') who was caught up to Olympos.⁸³ They, or similar prizes, were promised to Apollo and Poseidon in return for building the walls of Ilion. But when the work was completed Laomedon withheld them. The cheated deities revenged themselves by sending a dragon against him which could only be appeased by the sacrifice of the sister of Ganymedes, Hesione ('She Who Dwells by the Sea').⁸⁴ In this predicament, Laomedon offered Herakles the horses if he would act as the champion of his daughter. The formidable monster swallowed the son of Zeus, bolting him whole, which proved a sad mistake, for the eaten hero pierced its heart from within, and so escaped from his animated tomb. When the peril was thus averted, Laomedon again refused to pay. Herakles, angered by such perfidy, stormed the city, killed Laomedon and his sons, appropriated the steeds which here take the place of Helen as the object of the quest, and gave Hesione to Telamon, who had helped him in the attack.⁸⁵ In the second siege of Troy Achilles, the greatest of the Greeks, had a supernatural steed named Xanthos to whom Hera gave human speech to foretell his master's death.⁸⁶ He was the attendant animal of that dying deity. And the rite of horse-sacrifice, which is thus suggested, was regularly practiced at Rhodes, where Helen was hanged to a tree in a fertility-rite. A white horse, hitched to a burning chariot, was annually cast into the sea to revive the energies of Spring. The victim represented Phaëthon ('The Brilliant') who was a son of Apollo.⁸⁷ A similar immolation was made by many peoples. The Magians sacrificed white horses by throwing them into a

river.⁸⁸ The Veneti performed a similar rite in the cult of Diomedes.⁸⁹ The ceremony of the Pyre, in the worship of the Syrian goddess, consisted of hanging animals on a tree and burning them there to restore the powers of increase.⁹⁰ In the festival held at Upsala, horses, as incarnations of Frey, or Odin, were suspended in a consecrated grove.⁹¹ According to Sanskrit tales, when Indra had fled to the Underworld, thus causing a devastating drought, he was recalled by a horse-sacrifice.⁹² Helen, the feminine counterpart of the white colts of Zeus, undoubtedly had a mare for her theriomorph. This was equally true of Ish-tar, one of whose lovers was a horse, and of Semiramis, who burned herself on a pyre for love of a favorite stallion.⁹³ The high funeral gleam in which Troy passed away was, in part, the glow of a sacred bonfire in which a god and a goddess were consumed in equine form, that fertility might not perish from the earth.

It is not difficult to find the reason why the cyclic poets of Greece wove this complicated narrative, supposedly true to fact, from the cults of Mykenanian city-gods. It was the same as that which prompted the Hebrews to re-edit the mythology of the Semites into something which was peculiarly their own, and as that which led the Persians to construct from fertility-rites the struggle of a united Iran against Turanian hordes. Greece was a loose collection of city-states in each of which the sovereigns traced their line to a god in human form. To represent these gods as once united in carrying out a protracted war against Asiatic peoples was a means of forging the religious bond which was indispensable for the making of a nation. An actual feat of arms gave a nucleus for the story. Local legends were grouped about it. And the genius of Homer created a masterpiece from what started as Pan-Hellenic propaganda.

Deathless gods, like dying heroes, obtained immortality by being sacrificed. Helen's doublet among the Olympians is Demeter, who was identical with her daughter, Kore-Persephone. Her death in a Sacred Marriage to Eubouleus, or Hades, was annually enacted in her cult by the killing of a sow and a boar.⁹⁴ The result of the union of these deities was the birth of Ploutos,

the deity of increase, whose attribute was a horn-of-plenty. At Nysa he was sacrificed in the form of a sacred bull.⁹⁵ The bull, the boar, and the horse are interchangeable symbols of the god of fecundity. In the cult and myth of Demeter-Kore, however, it is the horse, not the bull, that acts as a substitute for the boar, the usual theriomorph of Tammuz. At Phigaleia, in Arkadia, Demeter the Black was portrayed in the form of a woman with a horse's head and a mane of coiling snakes. The myth relates that the goddess had changed into a mare to avoid the pursuit of Poseidon, who, becoming a stallion, had united with her and thus begotten the marvelous horse Areion and a daughter called Despoina ('The Mistress'), a doublet of Persephone.⁹⁶ Pausanias expressly states that, at the time of his visit, no victim was offered to the goddess. But the probability is strong that in the archaic cult Demeter and Poseidon Hippios were sacrificed each year, in equine form, that they might beget new deities of increase.

The slaying of the goddess is recorded in the story of the Gorgon Medousa ('The Ruler'), who, according to Hesiod, was made pregnant by Poseidon and bore the winged horse Pegasus.⁹⁷ On a Boiotian vase now in the Louvre she is shown with the hind quarters of a horse and the torso and head of a Gorgon-woman,⁹⁸ while on a vase from Rhodes in the British Museum she appears as a woman with a horse's head.⁹⁹ The marvelous horse sprang from the neck of the Gorgon when she was beheaded by Perseus whose attribute was the cap of Hades¹⁰⁰ and whose name means Destroyer.¹⁰¹ He was considered by the Persians as their eponymous ancestor, the father of that Perses from whom Xerxes claimed descent.¹⁰² This suggests that he was a dying god like Mithra, or like Tishtrya, who in the form of a horse contended with the equine Apaosha in order to restore fertility.¹⁰³ In the myth, the Gorgon is the only victim. After slaying her, Perseus encounters another monster which had come to devour Andromeda ('Ruler of Men'),¹⁰⁴ daughter of the Ethiopian king Kepheus, and obtained the rescued princess as his bride. But her name is merely a doublet of that of Medousa ('Ruler'). The battle with the latter gave to Perseus the

power to rescue his mother Danaë, importuned by Polydektes ('Great Receiver'), whose name is one of the appellations of Hades.¹⁰⁵ Later while throwing the discus he accidentally killed her father Akrisios ('He of the Mountain Peak').¹⁰⁶ The latter had likewise proved himself an oppressor. He confined his daughter in a brazen tower to prevent her from conceiving his destined slayer, and, when Zeus, descending in a golden rain, had frustrated this scheme by begetting Perseus, her apprehensive parent put Danaë and her baby in a chest and cast it into the sea. Her captivities which recur, like the abductions of Helen, suggest that Danaë is a fertility-goddess. She probably represents the earth made fruitful by sun and rain. If so, her deliverance exactly corresponds to the freeing of Semele ('Earth') by Dionysos, and is approximately equivalent to the restoration of Demeter-Kore or Persephone, and to the winning back of Helen. In that case the fantastic history of the doom of Akrisios is founded on ritual. The combat of Perseus and Medousa, like that of Marduk and Ishtar-Tiamat, was a Sacred Marriage and also a sacrifice. The reality behind it was the annual immolation of a stallion and a mare. This ceremony agrees at every point with the one I reconstructed to explain the tale of Troy, and is identical with that which characterized the worship of Demeter, except that the victims were horses instead of pigs. Helen of Troy and Achilles, Persephone-Kore and Hades Eubouleus, Demeter the Black and Poseidon Hippios, Medousa-Andromeda and Perseus, all these couples were deities of the type of Ishtar and Tammuz, divinities who died and rose again.

A possible source of the story of Perseus and Medousa is the Sumerian myth which is the probable original of the Babylonian Epic of Creation. A hymn to Marduk based upon this text calls him 'smiter of the skull of the god Zu.' The latter deity, half bird and half horse, was one of the allies of Tiamat and was identified with the constellation Pegasus. On a boundary stone it was represented by the head of a white horse. Zu was identified with the winter sun, as the starry counterpart of this divinity rises heliacally during the season of storms.¹⁰⁷ The Sumerian slayer of Zu, according to Langdon, was Ninurta, son of Enlil.

According to Jastrow, it was Enlil.¹⁰⁸ By his act he rejuvenated the sun. Slain in the form of a horse, it rose again as the solar orb of spring. And if, as seems likely, Zu is the older form of Kingu-Tiamat, the sacrifice was also a begetting.

Like Helen, Persephone, Demeter, and Medousa, Hera, the queen of the undying gods, also had a Sacred Marriage at which a mystery-play was performed, as in the rite of Marduk. The fact that at Lebadeia she was known as Hera Hippiā¹⁰⁹ suggests that her cult had once included the sacrifice of a mare. But since the beast of Zeus was pre-eminently bovine, and Hera was called the ox-eyed, the victims were normally a bull and a cow. In addition an image of the goddess was fashioned from an oak-tree and christened Daidale ('Creatress').¹¹⁰ Arrayed like a bride, it was placed upon a wagon, with a bridesmaid to attend it, and in Boiotia was driven to the top of Mount Kithairon, where an altar had been made of blocks of wood with brush piled about it. There the image was placed as on a bridal bed with the victims ranged beside it, and on that mighty pyre they were consumed. 'I know of no blaze,' writes Pausanias, 'that rises so high or is seen so far.'¹¹¹ In the rite of Marduk there also were sacrifices, and not only the goddess, but also the god, was consumed in effigy. And though the Greeks explained their ceremony by a tale of marital bickerings between Zeus and his jealous consort, and represented the sacrifices as gifts, this magic charm is a survival from a more primitive time when Hera and her husband¹¹² were annually slain that their creative strength might be renewed.

The reason why Ishtar slew her sons and lovers was obvious to the Babylonians, who therefore did not try to explain it. The Egyptians cleared the character of Isis by attributing to the malignity of Set the similar murders of Horus and Osiris. The Greeks, like the Hebrews, rejected dualism. Nevertheless, they inherited many tales of the slaughter not only of heroes, those ancient gods, but also of the Olympians. They therefore imputed these killings to jealousy, especially to the jealousy of Hera. In the story of Daidale she slays herself, transparently disguised. But usually her victim was either the

mistress of Zeus or the illegitimate son of that philandering divinity.

The especial object of her spleen was the greatest of the heroes, Herakles ('The Glory of Hera'), son of Alkmene ('The Strong').¹¹³ Zeus made the night that he lay with her as long as three ordinary ones,¹¹⁴ apparently representing the three nights of darkness between the vanishing of the old moon and the appearance of the new one. To seduce his bride he had assumed the form of her husband Amphitryon ('The Double-Borer'),¹¹⁵ that is, the forked lightning, the *bidens* of the Romans. Like Tyndareos ('The Shatterer') he is Zeus by another name. In the myth, however, this pseudo-mortal husband would have avenged his honor by putting Alkmene to death, but she was rescued by Zeus who stunned her husband by hurling a thunderbolt.¹¹⁶ This is the slaying of Hera once again in the ceremony of the Sacred Marriage that she and her lover might be reborn. And the god who was thus conceived had the typical career of a deity of increase. His greatest foe was the Nemeian lion whose hide became his accustomed attribute.¹¹⁷ The Argives in historical times associated the cult of Hera with that of Zeus Nemeios and the lion is said to have been born at Nemeia by the moon, at the instigation of Hera and to have been reared by Hera.¹¹⁸ The lion was the symbol of the mother-goddess of Crete¹¹⁹ of whom Hera is the Greek equivalent. The other foes of Herakles are snakes and bulls and supernatural horses who appear to be the theriomorphs of a divinity. He brings back, from Hades, Alkestis ('The Strong'),¹²⁰ the wife of Admetos ('Untamed')¹²¹ and from a land beyond the western horizon obtains the apples of the Daughters of Evening after a combat with a dragon. He marries Megara ('Subterranean Shrines'),¹²² the daughter of that Kreon who, in the myth of Antigone, enacts the rôle of Hades. Driven mad by Hera, he slays his wife and sons and burns them on a pyre as an offering. Then he weds Deianeira ('Hostile to Men'),¹²³ a form of Persephone. His poisoned arrow lays low the centaur Nessos when the latter attempts to rape that dangerous bride. This suggests the sacrifice of a

stallion in the cult of a Sacred Marriage. Through the agency of Deianeira it causes his own death as he is celebrating his third wedding by sacrificing to Zeus. Like Hera, he is burned on a mountain-top. Having thus obtained immortality he is borne to Mount Olympos, where he weds Hebe ('Youth'),¹²⁴ who bears the same relation to Hera that Kore does to Demeter.¹²⁵ His Twelve Labors may represent the twelve restorations of the new moon.¹²⁶ In his cult he was offered a twelve-knobbed cake, as was also the case with Kronos.¹²⁷ Like the latter, who presided over the heroes in the Islands of the Blest, he is the god of the year, a deity of death and resurrection.

It was through the plotting of Hera that Herakles was forced to serve Eurystheus ('The Wide Ruling'),¹²⁸ who dispatched him on his quests. It was also she who brought Iason to the court of Pelias, his uncle, who had usurped the throne of Iolkos in Thessaly, and it was she who prompted that tyrant to send him to gain the Golden Fleece, stripped from that flying ram which had borne off Phrixos ('Shuddering')¹²⁹ and Helle, who gave her name to the Hellespont, to save those children of Athamas, or Tammuz, from being sacrificed. But while Hera constantly hindered Herakles, she always befriended Iason. He was also helped by Athena who directed the building of his enchanted ship, the Argo, which had in its mast a part of the speaking oak of Dodona. It was through the intercession of Hera that he accomplished his task, in spite of its many supernatural hazards. Among her other favors she, assisted by Aphrodite, won him the love of Medeia, the daughter of Aietes, King of Kolchis, the guardian of the Fleece. Medeia, a grand-daughter of Helios, becomes the evil genius of Iason, as Hera was the good one. To be sure, she showed him how to yoke the fire breathing bulls and to dispose of the men who sprang from the dragon's teeth by the same stratagem that Kadmos used in similar circumstances. She also enabled him to put the dragon to sleep and safely steal the Fleece, and delayed the pursuing Aietes by strewing in his path the mangled limbs of her brother Absyrtos. Furthermore, she

disposed of Pelias who had slain the father of Iason and caused his mother to kill herself. By dismembering an aged ram and then restoring it to life and youth by boiling it in a caldron she persuaded Pelias's daughters to attempt his rejuvenation by the same drastic process, and that was the end of him. But when Iason decided to marry Glauke, the daughter of the Korinthisian king, she sent the bride the same sort of wedding gift that Deianeira presented to Herakles, a garment which reduced her to ashes and consumed her father as well. She then slaughtered her boys, and escaped from Iason's vengeance in the chariot of the sun. Her husband was later killed by a fragment that fell from his magic ship.¹³⁰

The quest of the Golden Fleece was the winning back of fertility by means of a sacrifice, though the ritual has been elaborated into a complicated epic. Medeia, like Helen, is a goddess, another form of Hera.¹³¹ The immolation of Glauke ('The Bright') represents the burning of that goddess. She escapes by mounting to the Elysian fields, exactly as Herakles did on receiving the shirt of Nessos. Her husband, Iason, is a form of Zeus.¹³² The story of his death is based on cult as is that of his doublet, Iasion, slain by the bolt of Zeus for having lain with Demeter in the midst of a thrice-plowed field.¹³³ The *Argo* ('Bright')¹³⁴ with its oracular mast represents the tree of Hera. Its collapse is the felling of that tree in the rite of the Sacred Marriage when Daidale-Hera was burned. Sharing the bridal couch that was a pyre, Iason, the god, and Medeia, the goddess, went down to the Underworld, thus gaining the Golden Fleece, which represents the renewal of procreation, as did the apples of the Hesperides.

The Korinthisian rite to which this corresponds was devoted to the children of Medeia, not to Medeia and Iason. According to one story, as each of her infants was born Medeia took it to the temple of Hera in a vain attempt to make it undying.¹³⁵ Another account relates that Hera had promised the children immortality and kept her word in the sense that after their deaths they were immortalized with divine honors.¹³⁶ A third declares that they were put to death by the Korinthisians and

that in revenge their ghosts killed all the babies in Korinth till yearly sacrifices were offered them.¹³⁷ The victims were seven boys and seven girls, apparently representing the days of the waxing moon. In historical times they were not really killed, but were shorn, and dressed in black, and forced to spend a year in the sanctuary of Hera of the Height.¹³⁸ Except for the number of the victims, this is exactly the cult of the Lokrian Aias in the Troad. It is a ceremony of which the obvious purpose was the rejuvenation of the world by means of the spell of Sumer.

The machinations of Medeia were not confined to Korinth. In the chariot of the sun she fled to Athens, and married Ægeus, the god of the Ægean, by whom she had a son named Medos ('Regent').¹³⁹ When Theseus, the son of Ægeus, appeared at his father's court, Medeia, at once divining who he was, attempted to get Ægeus to poison him. But that ruler recognized the family characteristics and the thwarted enchantress fled through the air with her offspring. Her cult remained, however. The Athenians were accustomed to send each year seven boys and seven girls as a tribute to Minos of Crete, who offered them to the Minotaur. In the myth his kingdom is the Underworld, just as Kolchis is in that of Iason. The expedition of Theseus¹⁴⁰ parallels the quest of the Golden Fleece, and Ariadne ('The Very Holy One')¹⁴¹ is another form of Medeia. The abduction of Helen and the attempt to abduct Persephone¹⁴² are doublets of this adventure. Theseus, however, was unable to bring back Ariadne. Homer says that she was killed by Artemis on the island of Delos and, thus becoming immortal, was wedded to Dionysos.¹⁴³ Plutarch declares that in that island Theseus offered a sacrifice and dedicated the image of Aphrodite which Ariadne had given to him.¹⁴⁴ Again the legend is that of a Sacred Marriage which was consummated on a flaming pyre. And that Theseus was the dying god who perished in this rite is witnessed by the tale that on the return to Athens his ship hoisted black sails, the prearranged signal to show that he had perished. Thereupon Ægeus, in grief, hurled himself into the sea. This is a

last survival of the mourning for Theseus-Tammuz which was turned to rejoicing by his resurrection.

But Theseus, like Medeia, had other lives and loves. Through one of these he begat a god, his own reincarnation. He wedded Hippolyte the Amazon, who bore him a son, Hippolytos.¹⁴⁵ She was succeeded by Phaidra ('The Bright'),¹⁴⁶ the sister, or doublet, of Ariadne. This union resulted in a tragedy because of the jealousy of Aphrodite. Hippolytos neglected her in favor of Artemis. Therefore she caused his stepmother to fall in love with him. When he repulsed her advances, Phaidra hanged herself, and in her dying statement to Theseus accused his son of rape. The king requested Poseidon to avenge him. That obliging god responded with a portent which frightened the horses of Hippolytos so that they ran away and dashed their master to pieces. Such is the story in its humanized form. But Hippolytos was revived by Asklepios, son of Apollo, and presented his healer with horses as a reward. Phaidra, like Ariadne, is a goddess and her reluctant lover is a god. He was the Greatest Kouros to whom the girls of Troizen dedicated a lock of hair the day before they were married, and to whom the young men offered their earliest beards.¹⁴⁷ Each year he perished and was mourned like Tammuz, then rose again to be hailed by songs of thanksgiving. These ceremonies were held above his grave near the temple of Aphrodite Kataskopiá ('From the Height').¹⁴⁸ In cult his annual resurrection may have been brought about by slaying a sacred horse as the bridegroom of Aphrodite.

Minos,¹⁴⁹ the father of Phaidra and of Ariadne, was himself the Minotaur in the same way that Theseus was also Hippolytos. His bride Pasiphaë ('The Very Bright') was a lunar goddess¹⁵⁰ like Helen, and her son was merely his father born again. Cook concludes that this exalted King of Knossos who gave his name to the Minoan Age had a grave by the mountain-shrine of the Great Mother.¹⁵¹ The king, according to tradition, reigned for a term of eight years and then withdrew into the cave of Zeus, that he might renew his powers. 'We may surmise,' writes Frazer, 'that among the solemn ceremonies

which marked the beginning or the end of the eight years' cycle the sacred marriage of the king and the queen played an important part, and that in this marriage we have the true explanation of the strange legend of Pasiphaë and the bull.'¹⁵² Another of these rites was the sacrifice of the ruler, as shown by the tale that he was slain by being drenched with boiling water,¹⁵³ which probably means that like Pelias he was plunged into a caldron of regeneration. He perished through a recurrent sacrifice and by his death regained the strength of youth.

The descendants of Minos, like their father, are merely embodied rites. Katreus¹⁵⁴ was speared by his son Althaimenes ('Healing with Herbs')¹⁵⁵ in fulfillment of a prophecy. The slayer was engulfed in a chasm. He was worshiped in Rhodes as a hero.¹⁵⁶ Androgeos ('Earth Man')¹⁵⁷ was gored to death by the bull of Marathon which had been brought from Crete by Herakles. Like Hippolytos he was brought to life again by the arts of Asklepios.¹⁵⁸ Glaukos ('The Gleaming') met his death by falling into a jar of honey. The Kouretes said that no one could find his body except the man who could devise a fitting comparison for a cow in Minos's herd which every four hours became a different color, first white, then red, then black. The scribe who solved this riddle brought Glaukos to life again by means of an herb with which he had seen a snake revive its dead companion.¹⁵⁹ The first son suffers the fate of Akrisios and Laïos. The other two, like Minos, perish and rise again as deities of death and resurrection.

The sister of Althaimenes was the bride of the god Hermes, who was also said to have abducted Helen and carried her to Egypt and to have slain a giant whose name was Hippolytos.¹⁶⁰ His union with the grand-daughter of Minos was an irregular one. The girl, or goddess, was called Apemosyne ('Freedom from Trouble').¹⁶¹ She avoided his advances and fled so quickly that he could not catch her. Resorting to guile he stretched out newly-flayed hides in her accustomed path. The next time she attempted to escape, she slipped on these, and so was violated. Althaimenes avenged the family honor

by kicking her to death. Like the rape of Kassandra, and that of Demeter, this is a Sacred Marriage. The hides are those of the sacred animals slain in an annual rite. Apemosyne perishes that she may become immortal, as Ariadne did. And her lover is slaughtered with her. He is identified with Trophos (‘The One Who Feeds’)¹⁶² whose worship involved the slaying of a black ram, the drinking first of the Spring of Forgetfulness and then of that of Memory, and the descent into a cave which represented the Underworld.¹⁶³ And like that god he was associated with Hekate and Demeter.¹⁶⁴ In the *Choephoroi* of Aischylos he is invoked as follows: ‘O Hermes of the nether world, administering a power given thee of thy father, be my savior and my helper at my prayer.’¹⁶⁵ In the same way as all the other saviors, he and his bride were sacrificed every year, and went to the Underworld, thus removing the evil effects of the sins of their votaries and renewing the energy of creation.

In Crete, where we find the earliest indications of how the Hellenic pantheon arose, the chief of the Olympians suffers the fate of Tammuz and is identified with a sacred pig. Zeus is said to have been born on the summit of Mount Dikte, where a sacrifice took place that could not even be mentioned. He was suckled by a sow that, through its gruntings, made his crying inaudible to the enemies who sought him. Hence this animal was regarded as particularly holy so that the eating of its flesh was utterly tabooed.¹⁶⁶ Yet, as in the case of Adonis, this sanctified animal caused the death of the deity. According to tradition the tragedy occurred close to the city of Lyttos which, about 450 B.C., issued silver coins depicting on one side an eagle, the bird of Zeus, and on the other, the head of a boar.¹⁶⁷ Minoan and Mykenaian signets show him as a young warrior standing near that Mother Goddess whose emblem was a sow. On one of these his tomb is visible within her sacred enclosure. Beside it hangs his shield towards which a lamenting votary bows. On another signet, the mourner lies prone upon the shield while above it is the double-axe and also the symbol of life.¹⁶⁸ The deity who is here identified as Zeus

was evidently the lover and the victim of a goddess who corresponded to Ishtar, and he was sacrificed each year after a Sacred Marriage.

Porphyrios gives further evidence in regard to this ceremony in his *Life of Pythagoras*. He declares that this champion of metempsychosis when he arrived in Crete donned the fleece of a black ram and in this garb descended into the Idæan cave, where he offered Zeus a funeral sacrifice and saw the throne that was spread for him each year and a tomb which bore the following inscription:

Here lies dead Zan whom men call Zeus.¹⁶⁹

The flower-decked throne was doubtless a bridal couch like that which was spread for Hera. And the sacrifice too awful to be referred to was the slaying of the sacred bridegroom, together with his bride, that they might arise again rejuvenated.

At the time of Pythagoras (about 580 B.C.) the victim seems to have been a ram, as in the cult of Trophonios, instead of a boar as in the worship of Tammuz. In the rites of Attis, the Phrygian form of the latter, rams and bulls were sacrificed as well as boars, since all three could appropriately be used as symbols of the force of reproduction. In the myth of the Phrygian Sabazios,¹⁷⁰ an early form of Dionysos, Zeus is a ram and a bull, and he perishes as Attis did. In a lustful moment he met Demeter, who took the form of a cow. Becoming a bull, he violated the goddess. Then he tried to make his peace with her by announcing that in an access of contrition he had castrated himself. To prove his words he tossed into her lap what purported to be his pudenda, though they really came from a ram that he had gelded.¹⁷¹ As in the tale of Demeter's rape by Poseidon-Hippios, this represents a Sacred Marriage. Zeus is slaughtered under the form of a sacred ram in the rite that was characteristic of the Galli.

The story of the resurrection of Zeus occurs in the myth which equates him with Osiris. When attacked by Typhon,¹⁷² who is the Egyptian Set, he fled to Egypt, according to Ovid's account, and took the form of a ram.¹⁷³ In the more usual

version of the story he came to grips with the monster, striking him down with an adamantine sickle like that which Perseus used in beheading Medousa, and Kronos in unsexing Ouranos. Typhon got the sickle away from him, however, and made him helpless by amputating the sinews of his hands and feet, which is a Greek euphemism for his organs of generation, as is clearly shown by the Egyptian myth and the Phrygian account of Zeus. The god, thus rendered impotent, or slain, was placed in the Corycian Cave on Mount Korykos, where Zeus was born according to one tradition. The sinews were put in the charge of Delphyne ('The Delphoian Goddess'), like Typhon half human and half snake. She is the Isis of the Egyptian myth, who, by extracting her husband's seed, conceived his reincarnation. The sinews were stolen by Hermes, who corresponds to Thoth, and fitted back into place. Zeus thus reconstituted soon blasted the usurper, and regained his throne, a re-arisen deity.

The subject of these myths is a Sumerian god who became the ruler of the Greek Olympos. His name is derived from ZE, glossed by *namaru* ('to shine') and by *napishtu* ('life'). Its pictogram was an eagle. With the determinative of deities it represented that divinity whom the Sumerians called Enlil and the Semites knew as Marduk,¹⁷⁴ the sky-god who was struck down in an annual ceremony, after a Sacred Marriage, and whose youth was thus renewed.

Apollo also had his duel with Ishtar, the goddess of the moon and of the deep, and with her son, the fish-ram. His bride was Koronis ('Curved?'), who was unfaithful to him, consorting with Ischthys ('The Strong'). For this he struck her dead, and, as she was burning, snatched from the pyre his unborn son, and gave it to Cheiron the centaur. Asklepios, thus rescued, was later blasted by Zeus for raising men from the dead.¹⁷⁵ He was a doublet of his father who, in the earlier cult, must have perished with his bride in this wedding of the sun and the moon which renewed the force of the spring, like the casting into the sea of the sacred horse which represented his other son Phaëthon.

The slaying of Koronis is repeated in the account of how the Far-Darter killed Pytho ('Rotting'),¹⁷⁶ the dragoness whom Hera had chosen as the appropriate nurse for her son Typhon, born without a father.¹⁷⁷ Pytho is Ishtar, the Great Python, mother of all the deities. The Pythian priestess who replaced the serpent was regarded as the bride of the god who, when she sat on the tripod, impregnated her with his divinity.¹⁷⁸ And the sequel of Apollo's dragon-killing was that, for murdering that sacred monster, he was banished from Olympos and had to become a bondsman to expiate his crime. The god descended to the Otherworld, as Marduk did in his annual festival, and thus the world was once again made fertile.¹⁷⁹

Still another version of this Sacred Marriage is the tale of Apollo's pursuit of Daphne ('Laurel').¹⁸⁰ The god was no more frustrated by her taking the form of a tree than Zeus was when Demeter became a mare. When her lover embraced her branches as though they were human limbs,¹⁸¹ he begot the god who became his reincarnation. Daphne perishes like Smyrna and like White Horse, her lover, who disguised himself as a maiden to be near her and was killed by the nymphs at the prompting of Apollo.¹⁸² And the eating of the sacred victims which makes the eater divine is preserved in the chewing of laurel leaves by the Pythian priestesses.¹⁸³

Apollo, the twin-brother of Artemis, who ruled the realm of shades, is, like Tammuz, the brother, son, and lover of the Mother of the Gods. And he causes the death of his masculine incarnation as well as that of his feminine one, since the two together represent an androgynous deity. His dying form was Hyakinthos ('Young'),¹⁸⁴ just as that of Demeter was Kore ('Maiden'). This beautiful youth, whom Apollo loved, was accidentally slain by a discus thrown by the Far-Shooter, thus meeting the fate of Akrisios. His sepulcher at Tarentum was called the tomb of Apollo Hyakinthos.¹⁸⁵ At Amyklai the death of the adolescent was annually mourned, and the grief was turned to rejoicing by his resurrection and apotheosis, which heralded the return of prosperity.

The fire-god Hephaistos,¹⁸⁶ like the sun-god Apollo, suffers the

destiny which alike awaited the heroes and the Olympians. As in the case of Typhon he was conceived by Hera through parthenogenesis. The baby had shriveled feet which so disgusted his mother that she cast him into the sea, where he would shortly have perished had not Thetis rescued him.¹⁸⁷ In Sanskrit legends the hero who limps or who comes without feet is the solar deity. His laming is said to be due to his ancient enemy, the lord of darkness or of the Underworld, and it is later cured by a miracle¹⁸⁸ as was that of Zeus after Typhon had severed his sinews. The hurling into the sea of Hephaistos represents the sacrifice of that deity who, in pre-Hellenic days, represented fire and lightning and the sun, as did the gods of Sumer and India. He is resuscitated by Thetis, a doublet of his slayer, as Achilles was in a similar situation. And the theme of the Sacred Marriage is introduced in the variant myth which tells how Zeus once sent him hurtling from the skies for having been the lover of Aphrodite.

Ares,¹⁸⁹ who was the legal husband of the goddess of love and beauty, shared the fate of her lovers, Hephaistos and Adonis. His assailant was Ephialtes ('Very Strong'), who sprang, like Aphrodite, from the blood of the mutilated Ouranos. Storming heaven, as Typhon did, he took Ares prisoner, and shut him up in a vessel of bronze for the space of thirteen months. His release in the thirteenth month suggests that once a year his statue was revealed as that of a risen god. The ritual probably represented a Sacred Marriage as in the parallel cults of Bel-Marduk and Osiris. But the victim in this instance was a dog. The Spartans chose it in the belief that the bravest of domestic beasts was an acceptable offering to the bravest of the gods.¹⁹⁰ In other words it anciently represented the deity himself who was sacrificed that Fertility, incarnated in him, might die and rise again.

In all these tales of heroes and gods the central rite is disguised, since the Greeks abhorred the custom of human sacrifice and considered the adoring of animals, as deities incarnate, a characteristic of barbarians. In Hellenic rites the traces of totemism have been most carefully obliterated. But in the case of

Dionysos¹⁹² the primitive substratum remains, comparatively unexpurgated. With his orgiastic worship he was regarded as an Asiatic intruder. Yet he is curiously akin to the wholly Greek Apollo in whose cults Farnell discerns 'a remnant of direct animal-worship (or half-worship) upon which the cult of a higher god is engrafted.'¹⁹² Delphoi is the common shrine of these two deities. Their titles and attributes constantly interchange. The laurel and the ivy belong to both, and Menandros declares that their names were alternatives.¹⁹³ Dionysos, then, may be regarded as the prototype of Apollo and indeed of all the pantheon of Greece. He represents the dying god of Sumer whom the Hellenic genius made immortal.

As in the case of Apollo the myths of Dionysos are all of them based on a single ceremony, the Sacred Marriage which was a sacrifice. It meets us in the story of the blasting of Semele ('Earth') when Zeus, descending in lightning, consumed his bride, as Apollo did Koronis, thus begetting his son and heir.¹⁹⁴ It turns up again in the tale of how the Titans, helped by Hera, or Pallas Athena, slaughtered and ate Dionysos. His slayers caused his resuscitation, Zeus extracting the embryo from his thunder-smitten bride and later producing the baby from his thigh, or by eating the heart of Dionysos, brought by Pallas, engendering in himself another incarnation of that god. In both instances he assumed the rôle which properly belonged to the mother-goddess, Hera, or rather to the androgynous deity who in more primitive times had represented the force of fertility. And in both the death of Dionysos was followed not only by a rebirth, but by an apotheosis. The infant Dionysos ascended his father's throne and grasped the thunderbolt. After his murder he reappeared as the viceroy, or second self of his father, the true lord of Olympos. And there is even a third form of the cycle. 'Finding that he was a god, men paid him worship,' declares Apollodorus, 'but he went and fetched his mother up out of Hades, gave her the title of Thyone ('The Raging') and went up with her into heaven.'¹⁹⁵ The Mother of the Gods, rejuvenated by death, became the wife of her son, who, descending to seek her in the Underworld, brought her back in tri-

umph that they might reign together as the rulers of the new year.

In the Cretan and Thracian cults of Dionysos a bull was torn to pieces, while alive, by the teeth of his votaries. In Tenedos a new-born calf was slain, while its mother was tended like a woman in childbirth, and the priest who struck the fatal blow was stoned by the worshipers.¹⁹⁶ At Athens, on the twelfth of the month Anthesterion, after a banquet at which the god was invoked, his image was brought from a temple, closed at all other times, to the Boukolion ('Ox-Stall'), the home of the king-archon. Its traditional name may be connected with this bull deity. 'Here takes place,' writes Aristotle, 'the corporeal union and marriage of the wife of the king and Dionysos.'¹⁹⁷ At Argos these annual nuptials were similarly enacted, and later the image of the deity was cast into the Alkyonian Lake, that pool without a bottom which sucked down every swimmer who tried to cross it. The anthropomorphic likeness was accompanied to Hades by a sacrificial lamb, an offering to the warder of the gate, which, like the calf in the rite of Tenedos, was a form of the dying god. Thereafter trumpets summoned him to return, and to restore the fair-faced Semele.¹⁹⁸ Endowed with new strength they emerged from the Underworld, bringing abundance and peace.

When Homer and Hesiod 'made the generations of the Gods for the Greeks and gave them their names and distinguished their offices and crafts and portrayed their shapes,'¹⁹⁹ there existed a multitude of city-deities identical in function, but nevertheless sharply distinguished by their votaries, since each sect claimed to be descended from the local divinity. The poets reduced them either to demi-gods, who received the cult of heroes, or to forms of the great Olympians distinguished by varying appellatives. Thus a bond was forged to hold the cities together. In the process of simplification the earth-mothers and earth-maidens were reduced to four or five essential types and the multitude of their sons and lovers was similarly diminished,²⁰⁰ while the heroes, who remained unchanged, were carefully allied by being represented as loyal brothers-in-arms in the host that

Agamemnon led to Troy. This last arrangement presented no difficulties. But the creation of the super-gods caused endless complications. To take care of the cult-names that were sanctified by tradition, the anthropomorphic Olympians were forced to include in their ranks a throng of male and female concubines.²⁰¹ They could not be at ease in Paradise because of their clandestine love-affairs, and the bickerings that followed their infidelities. The strife between male and female embodiments of the force of reproduction was thus attributed to jealous spite, and only the beauty of the deities and their supernatural powers kept the stories of their loves and hates from seeming wholly sordid.

Yet the triumph of Hellenism did accomplish a definite moral expurgation. Though the legends about the gods remained unedifying, their cults became comparatively pure. The offering of shorn locks and beards was everywhere substituted for religious prostitution, and, in general, sex was made less dominant in temple practices. The cruelty and horror of savage worship was banished by the sense of loveliness peculiar to the Greeks. Their sane idea of order induced them to suppress the religious orgies of an earlier time. The frantic massacres of men and beasts before repulsive idols were replaced by gracious ceremonies in honor of deities whose very shapes were symbols of the aspirations of man.²⁰²

Above all, the deities were made immortal and provided with a paradise on the peak of a lofty mountain, like that which the Chinese and Hindus set on Mount Sumeru, the Hebrews in the Garden of Eden, whence flowed the four great rivers. The Egyptians, whose only mountains were pyramids, located it in the land of the setting sun, and the Persians placed it on Mount Demavand. For the end of the rainbow bridge the Greeks picked Mount Olympos, which became the blissful home of immortal rulers, each with his separate province. Men might obtain their favor by making gifts and by living an upright life. 'Neither famine nor disaster,' wrote Hesiod, 'ever haunt men who do true justice; but light-heartedly they tend the fields that are all their care. The earth bears them victual in plenty

and on the mountains the oak bears acorns upon the top and bees in the midst. Their woolly sheep are laden with fleeces; their women bear children like their parents.' ²⁰³ Such was the happy lot assigned to honest farmers by deities thus exalted to a state of calm detachment and no longer constrained by the rite of the dying god.

But there was a curse on the Olympians, a curse more dire than that which clung to the Rhinegold. They had gained their heights of bliss through superstition. They were a product of the innovation which distinguished men from beasts, the idea that men could control their destinies by exploiting the supernatural. Their power was based on magic, which was the source of all the sciences. The sciences, however, destroyed the magic that begot them, thus breaking the spell that kept the gods supreme. The first thing to go was the belief that the annual sacrifice of a bestial or human form of the divinity was the sole cause of the Spring's reawakening. It was this radical modification of creed which enabled the deities to gain their peaceful paradise. But it also brought upon them their inevitable downfall. They were absentee landlords now, and, presently, their tenants began to grudge them the rent. When no definite ceremony renewed fertility for all the worshipers, men commenced to calculate whether or not it paid to offer tribute to the skies. They applied the standards of human conduct to the careers of their divinities, whose actions, according to their myths, were often deplorable. And in addition they came to realize that careful farming and stock-breeding in peace, and in war a well-organized military force commanded by capable generals, did more for the community than the smoke of sacrifice, and that leading a worthy life was a satisfaction on earth regardless of how it might affect the future of the soul. The pagan gods who had conducted man so far on his upward road were no longer adequate leaders. There was a need for higher ideals, for a nobler divinity. The fair shapes of the time when Greece was glorious were shrouded in ever-deepening shadows. Their doom had come upon them. But the twilight of the gods, whose rainbow bridge had led them to their ruin, ushered in the dawn of

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reason and brought a morality that was based on altruism. Zeus and his fellow-deities have lost Olympos now, and fled to the Happy Isles, as Kronos did before them. But the rainbow bridge still stands as a sign of promise for the future of humanity.

THE END

NOTES

CHAPTER I

THE CREED OF THE CAVE-MAN

1. Lucien Lévy-Brühl, *Primitive Mentality*, trans. by Lillian A. Clare (London, New York, 1923), 32-38, 60, 89, 139, 158.
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3. Baldwin Spencer and F. J. Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), 614-618.
4. J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, I (London, 1910), 93.
5. John Walter Gregory, *Australia: Physical Geography*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, II, 947. Cp. Channing Arnold, *Australia, Aborigines*, *op. cit.*, II, 955.
6. William Z. Ripley, *The Races of Europe* (Boston, 1899), 463; Earnest Albert Hooton, *Up From the Ape* (New York, 1931), 512, 516, 517, 523. Hooton says that the Australian is probably a cross of some archaic white strain with a Negroid strain, and that the Dravidian race is due to a Mediterranean-Australoid-Melanesian cross.
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9. Cook, *op. cit.*, 658.
10. Spencer and Gillen, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1904), 697-698; *id.*, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia* (London, 1899), 145-151.
11. Panchanan Mitra, *Prehistoric India* (Calcutta, 1923), 116-151; John Cockburn, *Cave Drawings in the Kaimar Provinces*, *Journal of Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, September, 1918; Lydekker, in *Paleontologica Indica*, Series X, IV, Part II (1886), 28.

12. P. W. Schmidt, *Die Gliederung der Australischen Sprache* (Wien, 1919), 22.
13. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, II (London, 1910), 218-335.
14. Leo Frobenius and Hugo Obermaier, *Hadschra Maktuba, urzeitliche Felsbilder Kleinafricas* (München, 1925), *passim*; Brown, *op. cit.*, 219-222; Neville Jones, *The Stone Age in Rhodesia* (London, 1926), *passim*. According to Hooton, *op. cit.*, 555, the Bushmen are the result of hybridization between pygmies and early Mongoloids, the intermixture having taken place to the west or southwest of the central Asiatic plateau.
15. J. G. Frazer, *The Belief in Immortality*, I (London, 1913), 124.
16. *Id.*, *Totemism and Exogamy*, II (London, 1910), 434.
17. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, I, 93; *id.*, *Orpheus, A History of Religions*, trans. by Florence Simmons (New York, 1930), 18.
18. Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 768; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, IV, 21.
19. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, I, 91-92.
20. G. Schweinfurth, *The Heart of Africa*, Third Edition (London, 1878), I, 59 f.
21. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, II, 354-356.
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23. Pausanias, I, 24-4; *id.*, I, 28, 10; Porphyry, *De abstinencia*, II, 29 f.; Aelian, *Var. Hist.*, VIII, 3. Scholia on Aristophanes, *Peace*, 419, and *Clouds*, 985; Hesychius, Suidas, and *Etymologicum Magnum*, s.u. *Bouphonia*; J. G. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, V; *Spirits of the Corn and Wild*, II, 4-5.
24. J. B. Ambrosetti, *Los Indios Caingua del alto Paraná (Misiones)*, in *Boletín del Instituto Geográfico Argentino*, XV (Buenos Ayres, 1895), 740; Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, II, 285-286.
25. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 91.
26. Cæsar, *Gallie War*, V, 12.
27. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, II, 219.
28. The pomegranate and the grape were emblems of Bel-Tammuz and of his Greek equivalent Dionysos. F. C. Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, I (Bonn, 1891), c. VII. The apple was a symbol of the sun and of the dying god of fecundity. Richard Folkard, *Plant Lore, Legends and Lyrics*, Second Edition (London, 1892), 217-225. The peach had a similar function in China; also the plum, the lotus, the pomegranate and the date. John C. Ferguson, *The Mythology of China, Mythology of All Races*, VIII, 104-105.
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 34. Scholia on Apollonius Rhodius, II, 24.
 35. Franz Boaz, in *Eleventh Report on the North-Western Tribes of Canada*, 9 f. (Separate reprint from the *Report of the British Association for 1896*.)
 36. Aelian, *op. cit.*, XII, 34.
 37. Pliny, *Naturalis Historia*, X, 31.
 38. *Panjab Notes and Queries*, II (March, 1885), p. 91, par. 555.
 39. Diodorus Siculus, I, 83-88.
 40. Charles New, *Life, Wanderings, and Labours in Eastern Africa* (London, 1873), 122.
 41. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, IV, 298.
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57. K. Semper, *Die Palau-Inseln im Stillen Ocean* (Leipsic, 1873), 87 f., 193; Frazer, *op. cit.*, 293.
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65. W. H. Furness, *The Ethnography of the Nagas of Eastern Assam*, *Journal of the Anthropological Institute*, XXXII (1902), 463.
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69. J. G. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, I, 102-103; Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 206, 209, 419.
70. Renel, *op. cit.*, 48-50.
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73. Cook, *Les Galets Peints du Mas-d'Azil*, 658.

74. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 503-507. Cp. *id.*, *The Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 505-555, and Baldwin Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia* (London, 1914), 228-261.
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86. Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 548-554; Spencer, *Native Tribes of the Northern Territory of Australia*, 253-256.
87. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 545-547.
88. *Id.*, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 530.
89. *Ib.*, 515-543; Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, I, 201-202.
90. Spencer and Gillen, *Native Tribes of Central Australia*, 8.
91. *Ib.*, 446-447.
92. Spencer and Gillen, *Northern Tribes of Central Australia*, 408-409.
93. *Ib.*, 393-394.
94. *Ib.*, 226-255.
95. Alexander Bertrand, *La Gaule avant les Gaulois*, 95, fig. 67; G. Baldwin Brown, *The Art of the Cave Dweller* (Edinburgh and New York, 1928), 103, fig. 65. For the original see Musée de Saint-Germain, salle I, vitrine 25, No. 8163.
96. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, II, 365, 375, 422, 435-440, 460, 477-499, 516-518, 561.
97. G. Baldwin Brown, *The Art of the Cave Dweller*, 166-168.

CHAPTER II

GODS AND TOTEMS

1. According to the synchronistic table in *The Cambridge Ancient History*, edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock, Second Edition (London, 1928), I, 656, the third dynasty of Kish is assigned the date of 3638 B.C., while that of Menes, founder of the first Egyptian dynasty, is given as 3500 B.C. Cp. C. Leonard Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford, 1928), 184-185, who declares that the graves at Ur are about two centuries older than Menes.
2. Woolley, *op. cit.*, 189; Alfred Jeremias, *Oannes-Ea*, W. H. Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der Griechischen und Römischen Mythologie*, (Leipzig, 1897-1909), III, 577-593; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, Ed. C. Müller (Paris, 1868-1883), II, 496, frgm. 1, 3. This describes the coming of the god Oannes or Ea, who apparently represents the new rulers.
3. Woolley, *op. cit.*, 6; Sir Arthur Keith, *Al-'Ubaid*, 216, 240. The Nordics and the Arab sub-race of the Mediterraneans were of similar physical type. Earnest Albert Hooton, *Up from the Ape* (New York, 1931), 526.
4. Woolley, *op. cit.*, 8; Sir Arthur Keith, *op. cit.*, 216.
5. See the articles by Sir John Marshall in the *Illustrated London News* for September 20, 27, October 4, 1924; February 27, March 6, 1926; January 7, 14, 1928; and in *The Times of India Illustrated Weekly* for January 15, 22, and 27, 1928. These, with further data, are now published with the title, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931).
6. Woolley, *loc. cit.*
7. Woolley, *op. cit.*, 184.
8. Cp. Sir Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London, 1930), XXXI. He suggests that the port from which they set out was Harmuza at the mouth of the Minob River. But no traces have yet been found of a civilization in Southern Persia contemporary with Mohenjo-Daro and Ur of the Chaldees.
9. Woolley, *op. cit.*, 7-9.
10. Arno Poebel, *Grundzüge der Sumerischen Grammatik* (Rostock, 1923), 35; Anton Deimel, *Shumerische Grammatik* (Rome, 1924), 5; C. Autran, *Sumérien et Indo-Européen, L'Aspect Morphologique de la Question* (Paris, 1925), 14-15, 167.
11. G. W. Brown, *Common words in Sanskrit and Sumerian*, *Journal of American Oriental Society*, March, 1925; Archibald Henry Sayce, in *Philol. Society* (1877-78), 1-20; M. F. Hommel, *Zweihundert Sumero-türkische Wortvergleichen als Grundlage zu einen neuen Kapital der Sprachwissenschaft* (Munich, 1915), Cp. also S. A. B. Mercer, *Journ. Soc. Or. Res.*, V (1921), 109 f.

12. Augustus Henry Keane, *Ural-Altaic, Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, XXVII, 784-786. The languages included in this group are Finnish, Magyar, Mordvinian, Syryenian, Osmanli, Mongolian, Buriat, Manchu.
13. See my article, *The Prehistory of the Alphabet, Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXV (1934).
14. C. J. Ball, *Chinese and Sumerian* (Oxford, 1913), Appendix. For the oldest Sumerian pictograms cp. Anton Deimel, *Shumerische Grammatik* (Rome, 1924), 30-33; François Thureau-Dangin, *Recherches sur l'Origine de l'Écriture Cuneiforme* (Paris, 1898); Samuel A. B. Mercer, *A Sumero-Babylonian Sign List* (New York, 1918).
15. Herbert Allen Giles, *China, Language, Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, VI, 217.
16. Giles, *op. cit.*, 221-222. The Sumerian AN, for example, is a noun, an adjective, a preposition, and a verb. John Dyneley Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1908), 32. Inflection and conjugation were later evolved, and distinctions between the parts of speech were introduced. But in its primitive form Sumerian had scarcely any syntax.
17. Poebel, *op. cit.*, 9-10; Stephen Langdon, *A Sumerian Grammar and Chrestomathy* (Paris, 1911), 19.
18. Earnest Albert Hooton, *Up from the Ape* (New York, 1931), 551, 559. He suggests that the Australian aborigines are fundamentally a white race, and owe their chocolate complexions to interbreeding with Negroes.
19. Roland Dixon, *The Peopling of the Pacific*, Lowell Lectures, 1929; Hooton, *op. cit.*, 559. The latter believes that this Indonesian race was Mediterranean, the former that it was a blend of Caspian ('Nordic') and Mediterranean.
20. It belonged to the Mon-Khmer group. See *Les Peuples Mon-Khmer, Bulletin de l'École Française de l'Extrême Orient*, VII, 213, VIII, 1.
21. The Khmers are supposed to be descended from an invading race which came from the plateaus of Central Asia and intermarried with the natives of Indo-China. See the article on *Cambodia, Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, V, 84. Cp. E. Aymonier, *Le Camboge* (Paris, 1900-1904).
22. Woolley, *op. cit.*, 7-9; *id.*, *Ur of the Chaldees, A Record of Seven Years of Exploration* (New York, 1930), 20.
23. As to the La Tène culture, named for a pile village at the north end of Lake Neuchâtel in Switzerland, see *Cambridge Ancient History*, II (1926), 593. For the similar *terramara* in the valley of the Po, see T. E. Peet, *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* (Oxford, 1909), XIV, XVIII. The Indonesians, whose descendants are the Polynesians, could not make pots and were ignorant of the use of metals. *Polynesia, Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, XXII, 33-37.
24. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, II, 25, 33-36.

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25. See Chapter IV, note 7.
26. Edward Theodore Chalmers Werner, *Myths and Legends of China* (New York, 1922), 16, 142.
27. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, New Edition (Oxford, 1899), 1231, col. 2; 833, col. 2.
28. The signs for KI-EN-GI are KI glossed by *shubtu* ('dwelling') and *ashru* ('place'), EN glossed by *enu* ('lord, god'), and GI, glossed by *mātu* ('land, Sumer'). The Semites translated it by the word *Shumer* from SU, SHU, glossed by *ishdu* ('region, land, dwelling'), and MER, glossed by *ilu Ninurta*. NIN-URTA is from NIN, glossed by *bēlu* ('lord'), and URTA, glossed by *akmu* ('storm'). Anton Deimel, *Shumerische Lexikon* (Rome, 1930-1933); signs no. 461k, 461, 99, 85, 536, 10, 556, 535.
29. Woolley, *op. cit.*, 36-40, 128-129.
30. *Ib.*, 121.
31. *Ib.*, 120, 108.
32. Herodotus, I, 199.
33. Frazer, *Totemism and Exogamy*, II, 585-586. The name of the python is *dangbe* ('life-giving snake').
34. *Ib.*, II, 423-424.
35. Prince, *op. cit.*, 3-4; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 579. Cp. Tiamat, the goddess of water, the mother of all life.
36. *Ib.*, 241. MU is glossed by *zikaru* ('male, man') and by *ishātu* ('fire'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 61.
37. The Sumerian KUBABBAR, glossed by *šarpu* ('silver'), is composed of the signs KU, glossed by *tešiltu* ('splendor, purification'), and BABBAR, glossed by *Shamash* ('the sun-god'). The Sumerian word for gold, GU-USH-KIN, consists of the same initial sign plus GI, glossed by *mātu* ('land, Sumer'). SHE-EN is glossed by *shuhtu* ('copper') and also by *ebbu* ('pure, bright') and *samu* ('red') and *namushishu* ('radiance'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 468d, 468b, 468, 381, 85, 8.
38. Budge, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary* (London, 1920), 486a. It was distinguished from the word for copper by a different determinative. That for Set was a picture of the phallus. A phallic determinative was sometimes used also for the word copper.
39. *Id.*, *The Gods of the Egyptians* (London, 1904), I, 485. When the metal statue of the god was brought out from its shrine, he was said to emerge from the foundry in which he had been cast. This was done in a ritual of death and resurrection.
40. DINGIR, glossed by *ilu* ('god'), has for its archaic pictogram an eight-rayed star. The word consists of DIN, glossed by *balātu* ('life'), and GIR, MER, glossed by *birqu* ('lightning'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 465 and 10.
41. Cook, *Zeus, A Study in Ancient Religion* (Cambridge, 1925), II, 550-

- 552, and fig. 428; J. Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites* (London, 1910), 228, 239 f.; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Third Edition, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris* (London, 1922), I, 139.
42. J. Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess* (London, 1913), 5-8.
 43. Herodotus, IV, 62.
 44. Scholia on Homer, *Iliad*, I, 264; Eustathius, *Commentary on Homer's Iliad* (Leipzig, 1825-1830), 101, 14 f.
 45. Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*, Second Edition (Paris, 1923), 197.
 46. The Old Persian *pārsa*, Babylonian *par-sa-a-a*, Elamitic *parshir*, Sanskrit *pārasa* ('Persian') has been connected with Sanskrit *parasu* ('axe, thunderbolt'), but this is somewhat dubious.
 47. Prince, *op. cit.*, 50; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 802; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 9.
 48. The word BAN, PAN, appears to be made up of BA, PA, glossed by *kappu* ('bend'), and AN, glossed by *shamu* ('sky'). With the determinative for wooden objects it was glossed by *qashtu* ('bow'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 439, 295 and 13.
 49. They are called *Bandiloi* by Procopius. In his *History of the Gothic Wars*, trans. by H. B. Dewing (London, 1916), II, 11, he says that, in his opinion, they and their allies were descended from a single tribe, anciently called the Sauramatoi. The Sumerian *b* interchanged with *m* which had the sound of *v*. Prince, *op. cit.*, X. Hence these *Bandili*, *Vandili*, were probably of Sumerian origin. I derive their name from BAN ('bow') and DILI ('male, man'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 77; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 439 and I.
 50. Miss M. A. Murray, *Ancient Egypt* (1921), Part II, 35-37; Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos at Knossos*, II, Part I (London, 1928), 48-49.
 51. Prince, *op. cit.*, 338-339. U = *Ishtar*, = *Shamash*, = *Ramman*, = *esherit* ('ten'). The pictogram was a single corner wedge. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 411.
 52. Prince, *op. cit.*, 56, 394. The sign for BARUN with the determinative of deities equals *Malik sha kunê* ('the subordinate sun-god, said of giving life'). He was also called 'the god of the abode in the Underworld.' The sign had the values BA-RU-UN, MA-RU-UN. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 494.
 53. Prince, *op. cit.*, 240. MITRA = *Nabû*. Cp. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 295, which has the value MI-ID-RA and is glossed by *il Nabû*.
 54. Prince, *op. cit.*, 231. MAN = *Shamash* = *shina* ('two') = *eshra* ('twenty'). The name *Shamash* is from SHA = *bêlu* ('lord'), and MASH = *māshu* ('twin'). *Id.*, 305, 338, 234. The sign is the corner wedge written twice. Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 471, 411, and 74. According to Prince, the values NISH, NIS were also read SHIN, SIN.
 55. Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, II, 696; Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 31.
 56. Prince, *op. cit.*, 293, 107, 47. The sign is the corner wedge written three

- times = *shalalti* ('three') = *shalāshā* ('thirty') = *Sin* ('the moon-god'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 472.
57. Prince, *op. cit.*, 94. The sign was the corner wedge written four times = *Antu* = *Ea* ('the god of the water') = *erbā* ('forty') = *irbāt* ('four'). *Id.*, 222; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 473.
58. *Ib.*, 261. The sign was the corner wedge written five times = *hanshā* ('fifty') = *hamshatu* ('five') = *Nindara* = *Ea* = *Bel*. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 475.
59. *Ib.*, 324, 338. The sign was the single corner wedge = *shushshu* ('sixty') = *shishshu* ('six') = *Anu*. Sixty was the unit. A variant of the sign is six vertical wedges with the value ESH = *shishshu* ('six') = *Ramman* ('the storm god'). *Id.*, 41; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 476.
60. *Ib.*, 190-191. IMIN = *siba* ('seven'). The sign is seven vertical wedges. The word is I ('five') plus MIN ('two'). The sign was also seven corner wedges. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 477.
61. *Ib.*, 355. USSU ('eight'). The sign is eight vertical wedges. According to Langdon — *Sumerian Grammar*, 118 — it is composed of IA ('five') and ESHU ('three'). The sign was also eight corner wedges. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 478.
62. Langdon, *loc. cit.*, derives ELIMMU ('nine') from IA ('five') plus LIM ('four'). *Sumerian Grammar*, 118. Cp. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 479.
63. Prince, *op. cit.*, 236. Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 557. For the use of the sign ME, MEN, to mean 100, see Mercer, *op. cit.*, Appendix. It seems to have originally meant 120, or twice 60.
64. The sun-sign, with the value UD = *ūmu* ('light') = *ūmu* ('lion'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 341; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, I, 53-54; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 381.
65. Langdon, *op. cit.*, 254.
66. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, 50.
67. Budge, *The Babylonian Legends of the Creation* (London, 1921), 11; Cory, *Ancient Fragments* (London, 1832), 24-26. Cp. Budge, *op. cit.*, 7, where Marduk is said to have made the beasts and plants, and the Tigris and Euphrates rivers, and to have created the seed of mankind with the assistance of a goddess. See also Stephen Langdon, *The Sumerian Epic of Paradise, the Flood, and the Fall of Man*, University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, Babylonian Section, X (1915-1919), 24-25. Man is likewise said to have been formed from the blood of the two Craftsman Gods.
68. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 53-56.
69. Lewis Bayles Paton, *Baal, Beel, Bel*, in James Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* (Edinburgh, 1909), II, 283.
70. Prince, *op. cit.*, 90, 363-9. From DUMU = *māru* ('son'), and ZI = *napishtu* ('life'). It has been translated 'the established son.' The com-

- ination could have that meaning, but why *established*? The full name was DUMU-ZI-AB-ZU ('the Son of the Life of the Deep'), i.e., the son of Tiamat. Deimal, *op. cit.*, signs no. 144, 84, 128 and 6.
71. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 6, and note 1. Girsu was also the name of a Sumerian city.
 72. *Ib.*, 9, note 1.
 73. *Ib.*, 11-16.
 74. Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* (Paris, 1909), 332-335.
 75. *Id.*, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 18. Ereshkigal means 'queen of the great land.'
 76. *Ib.*, 17-23; Langdon, *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms*, 341; *id.*, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 23-31; *id.*, *Babylonian Liturgies*, 63, 13-16.
 77. The oldest existing version is Semitic. Its Sumerian original has not been found, but its original hero was the Sumerian god Enlil, or his son Ninurta. See E. A. Wallis Budge, *The Babylonian Legends of the Creation and the Fight between Bel and the Dragon as told by Assyrian Tablets from Ninivah*, Department of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities, British Museum (June 1, 1921), 5. Cp. T. G. Pinches, *Sumero-Akkadians*, in Hastings's *Encyclopædia*, XII, 40 f., as to the Sumerian source of Semitic epics. Also Stephen Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford, 1923), 11-20. The Babylonian Epic was written during the First Babylonian Dynasty, 2225-1926 B.C.
 78. The name Tiamat is made up of the Sumerian signs TI.MIM.MAD. Budge, *op. cit.*, 13. TI is glossed by *balātu* ('life'), MIM by *ūru* ('womb'), and MAD by *mātu* ('land') and *shadū* ('mountain'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 330, 239, 229, 306; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 73, 554, and 366.
 79. MU.UM.MU. The first and third signs are the same, and meant *introitum aperiens*, 'that which effects an entrance.' It was glossed as *shumu* ('name') and *zikru* ('name, male'). The second sign UM = *ummu* ('womb'). Budge, *op. cit.*, 15. Cp. Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 61 and 134. The combination was equivalent to MUD, sign no. 81, glossed by *alādu* ('to beget, to conceive').
 80. From AN = *shamū* ('sky'), and SHAR = *gitmālu* ('complete') = *kish-shatu* ('all'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 32, 310; Gadd, *op. cit.*, 191; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 13 and 396.
 81. From KI = *mātu* ('land') = *qaqqaru* ('ground, earth') and SHAR ('all'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 202-203; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 461 and 396.
 82. Or 'Son of the Sky,' from A = *aplu* ('son') and NU = *shamū* ('sky'). The pictogram was an eight-rayed star. Prince, *op. cit.*, 32, 249; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 579 and 72.
 83. From E = *bitu* ('house') and A = *mū* ('water'). The name is also written with the sign BA = *bitu* ('house'), in place of E. Prince, *op. cit.*, 94, 93, 57, 110, 3; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 473, 324, 579 and 233.
 84. MARADUK, from MARAD = *būru* ('child, son, offspring') and UK = *Shamash* ('the sun-god'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 233. For the UG, UK, value

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- of the sun-sign, see Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 67. Cp. Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 4376, 437 and 381.
85. The signs are KIN = *shapparu* ('the swift one, wild goat'), and GU = *ku* ('the zodiacal sign of the ram'). Gadd, *op. cit.*, 186, 183; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 362; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 538 and 559.
86. Budge, *op. cit.*, 31-66.
87. Langdon, *The Epic of Creation*, 43-48, 114-122.
88. *Ib.*, 20-29.
89. *Ib.*, 36, 34.

CHAPTER III

THE WAY OF HEAVEN

1. Edward Theodore Chalmers Werner, *Myths and Legends of China* (New York, 1922), 13-17; Earnest Albert Hooton, *Up From the Ape* (New York, 1931), 578.
2. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, 46. It came from the Pamirs on the border of eastern Turkestan. A mountain in Persia where the caravans from the East deposited their loads was called by the Assyrians 'the mountain of lapis.'
3. See Chapter II, notes 9 to 16.
4. W. A. Cornaby, *God* (Chinese), Hastings, *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, VI (Edinburgh, 1913), 272-274.
5. Werner, *op. cit.*, 208-211; Donald A. Mackenzie, *Myths of China and Japan*, 44-65; Henri Doré, *Recherches sur les Superstitions en Chine* (Paris, 1910), Première Partie, No. 4, 449-460; John C. Ferguson, *Chinese Mythology* (*Mythology of All Races*, VIII) (Boston, 1928), 101-103.
6. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 98-100; Doré, *op. cit.*, 442-445.
7. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 100-101, 135-136; Masaharu Anesaki, *Japanese Mythology* (*Mythology of All Races*, VIII, Part 2), 243.
8. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 98; Doré, *op. cit.*, 446-448.
9. *The Li Ki* ('Book of Rites'), translated by James Legge (*Sacred Books of the East*, XXVII). Second Impression (Oxford, 1926), I, 251-252.
10. Anesaki, *loc. cit.*
11. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 116-117, 105; Werner, *op. cit.*, 72, 136-138.
12. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 116; Werner, *op. cit.*, 136, 203-204. The game of pitch-pot was an ancient ritual in which darts were thrown into an opening in a pot. Though it later became a mere recreation, it was originally a spell through which the earth-mother was supposedly impregnated by sympathetic magic. The game is fully described in the thirty-seventh book of the *Li Ki* (Legge's translation, I, 397-401). For the representation of the mother-goddess by a clay pot, cp. G. Elliot Smith, *The Evolution of the Dragon* (London, 1919), 178 f.

13. *The Texts of Taoism*, translated by James Legge (*Sacred Books of the East*, XXXIX), Second Impression (Oxford, 1927), 1-4, 12-35, 50-52; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 13-24.
14. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 54-56.
15. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 57-58; Werner, *op. cit.*, 76-81; Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, 260-267, 274.
16. Werner, *op. cit.*, 61-62; Anesaki, *op. cit.*, 220.
17. Werner, *op. cit.*, 93-99; Hampden C. DuBose, *The Dragon, Image and Demon* (New York, 1887), 358-361.
18. Anesaki, *op. cit.*, 209-210.
19. *Ib.*, 222-224. As to the three peaches, see *Ko-ji-ki* ('Records of Ancient Matters'), translated by Basil Hall Chamberlain (Tokio, 1882), 37. The oldest Japanese manuscript of this dates from A.D. 712. Compare the Greek myth of Atalanta's race.
20. *Ib.*, 225-226.
21. *Ib.*, 226-227.
22. *Ib.*, 249.
23. *Ib.*, 228-229.
24. *Ib.*, 232-233. The harp, bow, and spear are three emblems of the thunderbolt. For the thunder-harp, cp. Angelo de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology* (London, 1872), I, 159-161.
25. *Ib.*, 229-230.
26. *Ib.*, 230-231, 233.
27. *Ib.*, 232.
28. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 29-32; Werner, *op. cit.*, 81-82, 224-225.
29. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 25, 27, 30; Werner, *op. cit.*, 239.
30. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 7, 17, 20-21, 25-29.
31. *Ib.*, 32, 76-77; Werner, *op. cit.*, 81, 237-239.
32. Werner, *op. cit.*, 237. For the battle of this fire-god with a doublet of himself, cp. *ib.*, 161, 199.
33. *Ib.*, 126; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 32.
34. *The Shu King*, translated by James Legge (*Sacred Books of the East*, III), Second Edition (Oxford, 1899), 13-16, 31-36; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 33-35.
35. *The Shu King*, 37-45; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 35-37.
36. *The Shu King*, 16-19, 46-76; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 37-38.
37. *The Yi King*, translated by James Legge (*Sacred Books of the East*, XVI), Second Edition (Oxford, 1899), 17-18.
38. Cp. the *Li Ki*, Book IV (Legge's trans., I, 249-310). The number of water is one, that of fire is two, that of wood is three (i.e., water plus fire), that of metal is four (fire plus fire), that of earth is five (fire plus wood), that of spring is eight (wood plus earth), that of summer is seven (fire plus earth), that of autumn is nine (metal plus earth), that of winter is six (water plus earth).

39. *The Shu King*, 22-23; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 38-40. Shang is the second note in the five-tone scale, and corresponds to autumn. *The Li Ki*, Book IV, Section III, 283 (Legge).
40. *The Yi King*, 5-6; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 40-44. The founder of the Shang Dynasty was appropriately T'ang ('The Boisterous'). Chou is the name of a province.
41. Werner, *op. cit.*, 320-324.
42. *Ib.*, 194-196. Jupiter was the planet of wood, or growth; Venus that of metal; Mars that of fire; Mercury that of water, and Saturn that of earth. Mackenzie, *op. cit.*, 274.
43. *The Shu King*, *Shih King*, *Hsiao King*, translated by Legge (*Sacred Books of the East*, III), Second Edition (Oxford, 1898), 396-399; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 6, 40-41, 66; Herbert Allen Giles, *A Chinese Biographical Dictionary* (Shanghai, 1878), 267-268. Ch'i means 'castaway.' The sun-god was Hou I ('The Divine Prince').
44. *The Yi King*, 11.
45. Werner, *op. cit.*, 305-319.
46. *Ib.*, 202-203.
47. *Ib.*, 192-194.
48. *Ib.*, 165, 170-171; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 66, 79-80.
49. Werner, *op. cit.*, 45, 128, 166-168; Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 74-76; Timothy Richard, *Calendar of the Gods in China* (Shanghai, 1916), *s.u.* Tsao Chun.
50. Werner, *op. cit.*, 168-169.
51. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 28; Werner, *op. cit.*, 169.
52. It is said to pound out the drugs from which the elixir of life is made. Ferguson, *op. cit.*, 103.
53. Werner, *op. cit.*, 180-188. Later the bird of the sun became a three-footed crow, probably due to the fact that in Persia the crow was the bird of Mithra.
54. *Ib.*, 95; *The Li Ki*, translated by Legge, I, 125-126, 224-227; II, 249-250. *The Shu King*, translated by Legge, 195, 300, 333 and note 2, 343, 366, 370.
55. *The Texts of Taoism*, translated by Legge, Part I, 37, Part II, 212.
56. Werner, *op. cit.*, 100.
57. *The Chinese Classics*, translated by James Legge, Part I. *Confucius* (New York, 1870), 22.
58. Anesaki, *op. cit.*, 238.
59. Werner, *op. cit.*, 99-101.
60. Giles, *op. cit.*, 265. The name of the god means 'The Old Man of the River' or 'The Old Man of the Waters.' Like Ea, the corresponding divinity of Sumer, he was represented as part man and part fish.

CHAPTER IV

THE QUEST OF IMMORTALITY

1. Sir John Marshall, *Mohenjo-Daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931), *passim*.
2. *Ib.*, II, 453 f.
3. E. Meyer, *Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte, Sitzungsberichte d. Akad. d. Wiss* (Berlin, 1908), 14 f.; *id.*, *Geschichte des Altertums* (Stuttgart, 1907), I, 2, 579, 829, 837; Sykes, *History of Persia*, 98.
4. Arthur Berriedale Deith, *Indian Mythology* (Boston, 1917), 5. The names appear as Midrassil, Ur(u)vanassil, Nasattiyana, and Indar, with the Sumerian determinative for deities, DINGIR.
5. Tilak believes the *Rigveda* was compiled about 3100 B.C. Cp. A. B. Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads* (Cambridge, Mass., 1927), 615-619.
6. C. H. Vaidya, *Indian Historical Quarterly*, IV, 4 (December, 1928), 254. Jainath Pati, *Is the Indo-European Invasion a Myth? Indian Historical Quarterly*, IV, 4, 689 f.
7. M. H. Hein, *Sumerer und Indogermanen*, Mannus, 11-12, 1-2 (1919-1920), 183-204; *id.*, *Die ältesten indogermanischen Sprachreste*, ÖLZ. (1921), 250-258; C. Autran, *Sumérien et Indo-Européen, L'aspect morphologique de la question* (Paris, 1925), *passim*.
8. Keith, *op. cit.*, 16.
9. A. A. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology* (Strassburg, 1897), 22. With this root *div* ('to shine') cp. the Sumerian, DIM ('to shine') in which the Sumerian *m* may have been pronounced like a nasal *w*. John Dyneley Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon* (Leipsic, 1908), 78, 73. For the pronunciation of *m* like *w* or *v*, cp. *ib.*, X. This *m* interchanges with *b*, as *v* does with *b* in Sanskrit. For the sign DIM cp. Thureau-Dangin, *Les Homophones Sumériens*, 6; Deimel, *Lexikon*, sign no. 338.
10. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 88. Compare the Sumerian PAR ('spread out') plus DA, TA, the participial ending. Sumerian *d* interchanges with *t*. There is no separate sign for the aspirated dental, *dh*, *th*. Prince, *op. cit.*, 268, 68, 325, XI; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 25, 5; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 280 and 335.
11. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 21.
12. From SHA = *bêlu* ('lord') and MASH = *māshu* ('twin, double'). The ideogram is SHA, the corner wedge written twice, and has the values SHAMASH and also MAN = *māshu* ('twin') = *killalān* ('double'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 305, 348, 309, 231; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 411, 74, and 471.
13. Sum. *b* = *m* = *v*. Cp. note 9.
14. MITRA = *Nabū*. Prince, *op. cit.*, 240. Cp. *Nabū* in Muss-Arnolt's

- Assyrian Dictionary*, p. 632, and MIDRA, sign no. 295 in Deimel's *Lexikon*. With the determinative of deities it is glossed by *Nabû*.
15. Prince, *loc. cit.*
 16. James Hope Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (London, 1926), 63-67.
 17. See Chapter II.
 18. Prince, *op. cit.*, 56. BARUN = *gabû* ('stall'). With the determinative for deities, BARUN = *Malik sha kunê*, the deity of life-giving. On Malik as a sun-god cp. *ib.*, 394 and see Malik in Muss-Arnolt's dictionary. Cp. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 494 with the values BA-RU-UN, MA-RU-UN.
 19. *The Texts of Confucianism*, Part II, *The Yi King*, trans. by James Legge (Oxford, 1899), 32.
 20. *Ib.*, 120, 237, 305.
 21. Prince, *op. cit.*, 223, 13; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 21, I. The sign = *arhu* ('road') = *lêtu* ('cow') = *lêtu* ('wisdom') = *littu* ('offspring') = *takkula, takalu*, ('be firm, be strong, bring about'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 13, 14. For the values of the ideogram cp. Samuel Mercer, *A Sumerian Babylonian Sign List* (New York, 1918), 7. Cp. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 420.
 22. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 31. Sir M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899), 1281, col. 1. Its Sumerian synonym is SU-UR one of the titles of Shamash. The ideogram is the sign of the enclosure containing a picture of a sprouting plant. Prince, *op. cit.*, 366; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 39; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 491.
 23. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 34. The Sumerian equivalent of this root is SU = *ereshu* ('to plant, to throw seed'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 295; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 29; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 373. Another gloss is *rakabu* ('to ride, to have sexual intercourse').
 24. Macdonell, *loc. cit.*
 25. *Ib.*, 37. Cp. the Sumerian PUSH ('to nourish, to increase'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 269; Mercer, *op. cit.*, 6; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 346.
 26. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 73-74.
 27. *Ib.*, 49-54. The name has also been explained as *na-asatya* ('not untrue'), which is etymologically possible, but less appropriate to the nature of these deities.
 28. It is usually translated *horsemen*, but the Ašvins are described as driving horses, not as riding them.
 29. Keith, *op. cit.*, 30.
 30. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 1299, col. 3; 1294, col. 3.
 31. *Ib.*, 403, col. 2.
 32. *Ib.*, 261, col. 3. *Kali* was the last and worst of the ages in the cycle of existence.
 33. *Ib.*, 994, col. 2.
 34. *Ib.*, 880, col. 3; 881, col. 1.

35. *Ib.*, 919, col. 1.
36. *Ib.*, 759, col. 3.
37. *Ib.*, 449, col. 3. Tugra was also one of the foes of Indra, probably identical with Vṛtra, the encompasser of the waters, whose offspring was Sūrya, the sun. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 31.
38. *Ib.*, 17, col. 2; 1150, col. 1.
39. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 141-142.
40. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 1217, col. 1.
41. *Ib.*, 1182, col. 1.
42. *Ib.*, 987, col. 1.
43. *Ib.*, 137, cols. 1 and 2; 18, col. 2.
44. *Ib.*, 846, col. 1.
45. *Ib.*, 1190, col. 3.
46. *Ib.*, 406, col. 1.
47. *Ib.*, 164, cols. 2 and 3. To escape from her father Idā took the shape of all the animals, successively. Manu united with her in each metamorphosis, and thus engendered every sort of beast, and, finally, man.
48. MAN = *Shamash*, = *athu* ('brother'), = *māshu* ('twin'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 231. The sign for ME, MEN = *zikaru* ('man'), is two wedges, one at right angles to the other. MAN, written with two corner wedges has a by-form MIN, of which the sign is two vertical wedges, and this, like MAN, = *shinā* ('two'). The sign for MEN is sometimes used to indicate the plural. Prince, *op. cit.*, 231, 239, 236, 238; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 471 and 532.
49. GAM = *kippatu* ('the two poles'). DINGIR GAM = *ilu kippatu* ('the god of the two poles') = *Bel sha kippatu* ('Bel, as the god of the two poles'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 121 and Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, see under *kippatu*. Compare the Latin *geminus* ('twin') beside the Sanskrit *yama* ('twin'), both perhaps derived from this root 'to bend, double.' For GAM see Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 362.
50. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 1182, col. 1.
51. *Ib.*, 580, col. 2.
52. *Ib.*, 5, col. 1; 4, col. 2. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 99, derives it from *aj* ('to drive'). The corresponding Sumerian form is AG = *urū* ('to go, to hasten'), the primitive sign of which was an enclosure of fire. Prince, *op. cit.*, 21-22. A similar ideogram is that of ABNI = *kinūnu* ('wood brazier') = *ishātu* ('fire') = *himsātu* ('flame'). The word means 'house of fire' or 'house of burning.' *AGNI would be a natural formation from NI, = *hamafu* ('to burn') with the prefix of abstraction AG used to change verbs to nouns. Prince, *op. cit.*, 196, 245, 254, 203, 22. But the form *AGNI is not recorded. ABNI may have been also read *AGNI since Sumerian *b* interchanges with *g*. Prince, *op. cit.*, X, XI. For ABNI see Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 4617, and for AG, *ib.*, sign no. 183.

53. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 168, col. 2. Cp. *Iḍa* above, note 47.
54. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 71, 99-100.
55. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 658, col. 2; 582, col. 1. With *jan* ('to generate') and *jana* ('generating, creature') cp. Sumerian GAN, GANA glossed by *fehū* ('to approach, to unite with, sexually'), by *sa'u* ('to generate'), by *aplu* ('son'), and by *martum* ('daughter'). With *pati* cp. Sumerian PA-TI ('father of offspring'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 144, 60 and 73.
56. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 994, col. 2.
57. *Ib.*, 465, col. 1. Cp. Sumerian DAK = *sheṭū* ('to spread, stretch, increase') plus the causative suffix SHA = *epeshu* ('to make'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 280 and 97; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 5, 30.
58. *Ib.*, 1299, col. 3.
59. Werner, *op. cit.*, 325-369. His story is told in the *Hsi yü chi*, a dramatization of the introduction of Buddhism into China.
60. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 890, col. 2.
61. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 77; Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 883, col. 1. Cp. Sumerian RU = *ishtēn* ('one') combined with DARA = *burrumu* ('brightly colored') = *rushshū* ('red'). RU.DARA would thus mean 'red one.' Prince, *op. cit.*, 277, 71; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 1 and no. 114.
62. Keith, *op. cit.*, 78.
63. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 737, col. 3; 735, col. 3.
64. Keith, *op. cit.*, 78.
65. *Ib.*, 29. Cp. the Sumerian BISH, PISH, PUSH = *napashu* ('to spread out, to thrive, to expand, to extend'). From *napashu* is derived *napishtu* ('life'). Other meanings of the root BISH, *VISH are *marū* ('to fatten') and *shalalti* ('three'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 53, 59, 234; Mercer, *op. cit.*, 30; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 346.
66. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 39, 38.
67. Keith, *op. cit.*, 76.
68. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 77.
69. Cp. note 61.
70. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 75. Cp. Sumerian ŠI = *ṭabu* ('good') = *namqu* ('favorable'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 302, 68; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 84.
71. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 292.
72. Keith, *op. cit.*, 82.
73. *Ib.*, 112.
74. *Ib.*, 110.
75. *Ib.*, 112.
76. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 78.
77. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 790, cols. 1 and 2. But cp. Sumerian MAR.UT, from MAR = *nūru* ('light, fire') combined with UT = *ūmu* ('storm'), = *ūmu* ('sun, day'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 232, 125, 341; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 437 and 381. The name of the Babylonian Marduk is

- made up of those two Sumerian signs MAR, MARAD and UT, UD, UG, UK. Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 437b.
78. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 114. Cp. the Sumerian SU, glossed by *sapanu* ('to press down') and by *zarābu* ('to be pressed'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 373.
79. KU = *dashpu* ('mead') = *dishpu* ('honey'); KURUN, GESHTIN = *shikaru* ('date-wine, sesame wine') = *karānu* ('wine'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 210, 214, 135-136. Cp. Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, under *shikaru*, p. 1033. See also Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 110 and 210.
80. Prince, *op. cit.*, 136. Cp. Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 210, 6.
81. *The Texts of Confucianism*, Part I, The Shu King, trans. by James Legge (Oxford, 1899), 399.
82. Werner, *Myths and Legends of China*, 179 f.; Ferguson, *Chinese Mythology*, 103.
83. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 111-112.
84. *The Texts of Confucianism*, Part III, *The Li Ki*, trans. by James Legge, Second edition (Oxford, 1926), 268, note 5; 306. The number of spring is seven, earth (5) plus fire (2). The number of winter is six, earth (5) plus water (1). In Sumerian U, UN = *Ishtar*, = 10; MAN = *eshra* (20) = *shina* (2) = *Shamash* ('the sungod'); NINNU = *hanshā* (50) = *hamshatu* (5), = *Bel* ('god of the earth'). The signs consist of the corner wedge written once, twice, and five times. Prince, *op. cit.*, 338, 231, 261; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 411, 471 and 475.
85. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 109; *Rigveda*, 8, 48, 3.
86. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 1048, col. 1; Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 57.
87. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 306, col. 1. This is an appellation of Agni or fire.
88. *Ib.*, 1182, cols. 1 and 2.
89. *Ib.*, 1057, col. 1.
90. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 69.
91. *Ib.*, 159. Cp. Sumerian MIR = *agagu* ('to be angry, to be hostile') = *mešu* ('storm') = *nagiru* ('ruler'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 347.
92. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 474, col. 3; Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 158.
93. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 993, col. 3.
94. *Ib.*, 217, col. 2.
95. *Ib.*, 1085, col. 1.
96. *Ib.*, 1055, col. 2.
97. *Ib.*, 927, col. 3.
98. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 162.
99. Probably a way of saying that he gave fruitfulness to the earth, the trees, and women.
100. *The Li Ki*, 397. Cp. Book XXII, 9, and Book III, 9.
101. Keith, *op. cit.*, 63.
102. C. Leonard Woolley, *The Sumerians*, 21.

NOTES

103. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 733, col. 2.
104. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 364, col. 2. Cp. Edward J. Thomas, *The Life of Buddha as Legend and History* (London, 1924), 24. He derives it from *gotra* ('cow stall').
105. From *muni* ('sage') and *śākya* ('Derived from the Śakas'). Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 823, col. 1; 1062, col. 2. As to the Śakas, see *ib.*, 1045, col. 3. The name seems derived from *śak* ('to be strong'). Cp. the Old Persian *saka* ('Scythian, Scythia'). Tolman, *op. cit.*, 127.
106. From *juddha* ('pure') and *odana* ('boiled rice'). Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 1082, col. 2; 235, col. 3.
107. *ib.*, 1133, col. 1. Cp. *ji*, 420, col. 2. The name may mean 'completely victorious,' but considering the tenets of Buddhism, the victory was probably the subduing of the passions, a sense which *ji* possesses.
108. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 811, col. 1.
109. Keith, *op. cit.*, 189-198. Cp. Thomas, *op. cit.*, 211-236. He gives an admirably clear account of the historical and mythical elements in the legends about Buddha.
110. Keith, *op. cit.*, 196-197.
111. *ib.*, 192. As to *Rāhu*, see Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 879, 93.
112. Keith, *op. cit.*, 199-218.
113. *ib.*, 124-127; Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 306, cols. 2 and 3; 882, col. 1.
114. Keith, *op. cit.*, 231.
115. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 278, col. 1.
116. *ib.*, 487, col. 2.
117. Prince, *op. cit.*, 346; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 134. The Hindu name is said to be derived from *u mā* ('Oh, do not'), the beginning of a warning against practicing austerities addressed to Pārvatī by her mother. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 217, col. 1.
118. Keith, *op. cit.*, 234-243.
119. *ib.*, 236-237.

CHAPTER V

WORDS OF POWER

1. Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos*, II, Part I. (London, 1928), 26-27, 260-265; cp. Part I (London, 1925), 271-285, 612-668, M. Ros-tovtzeff, *The Sumerian Treasure of Astrabad*, *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology*, VI, 15 f.; Capart, *Primitive Art in Egypt*, 71-73; C. Leonard Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford, 1928), 46-49. Writing, burned brick and copper tools were suddenly introduced in the time of Menes.
2. Stephen Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford, 1923), 185, notes 6 and 8. Cp. John Dynely Prince, *Materials for a Sumerian Lexicon* (Leipzig, 1908), 40, 3-4, 310.

3. Deimel, *Lexikon*, sign no. 44; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 77; E. A. Wallis Budge, *An Egyptian Hieroglyphic Dictionary* (London, 1920), 83 a.
4. Budge, *op. cit.*, 296 a; Prince, *op. cit.*, 237. The sign in Sumerian means 'he who causes to be,' while the word signifies 'the man of power' or 'the man of god.' For the sign cp. Thureau-Dangin, *Les Homophones Sumériens* (Paris, 1929), 22. See also Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 272.
5. Woolley, *The Sumerians*, 189-190.
6. The account of the festival is said to go back to Berossus, the Babylonian priest of Bel. See Athenaeus, XIV, 44, p. 6390; Dio Chrysostom, *Or.*, IV, p. 69 f. (vol. I, p. 76, ed. L. Dindorf); J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, 113-114.
7. William Matthew Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Religion* in Hastings's *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics*, V, 239. He cites Klunzinger, *Upper Egypt, its People and Products*, English translation (London, 1878), 184.
8. Alexandre Moret, *Du caractère religieux de la royauté Pharaonique* (Paris, 1902), 235-273; R. Lepsius, *Die Chronologie der Aegypter* (Berlin, 1849), I, 161-175; Miss Margaret Murray, *The Osirion at Abydos* (London, 1904), 32-34; W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Researches in Sinai* (London, 1906), 176-185; Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II, 151-157; J. H. Breasted, *Development of Religion and Thought in Ancient Egypt* (London, 1912), 39.
9. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*; see Didot's edition of Plutarch's *Scripta Moralia*, tome 1, 429, which gives a Latin translation beside the Greek text. An English version by Squire was published at Cambridge in 1744, and Amyot's French one at Paris in 1818-1820. There is also a German version by Parthey. The most accessible translation is in Plutarch's *Morals*, translated by several hands, corrected and revised by William W. Goodwin (Boston, 1870), IV, 65-139.
10. Herodotus, II, par. 47.
11. Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation*, 78-81.
12. As to Isis and the swallow see Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians* (London, 1904), II, 373-374.
13. It was regarded as a phallic emblem, and Osiris, entombed within it, symbolized seed. Cp. the Persian Ox-Horn Tree, which was a tree of all seeds, and the Sumerian meaning of A.SAR ('all seed').
14. Angelo de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology* (London, 1872), 29-32.
15. Diodore de Sicile, *Histoire Universelle*, traduite en français par M. l'Abbé Terrasson de l'Académie Française (Paris, 1737), Tome I, 23-52; Diodorus Siculus, *Bibliotheca*, ed. L. Dindorf (Leipzig, 1866-1875), Book I, chapters 11-26.
16. This corresponds to the harp of the Dagda in the Irish epic tales. It had three strings, or strains. The first made you laugh, corresponding to summer, the second made you cry, corresponding to autumn, and the third put you to sleep, corresponding to winter. As to the god Thoth, he formed with the goddess Maat the same sort of compound deity as Set-

- Neith. According to the text of the Spirit Burial of Osiris he was the strength of that god of resurrection. The priests of Heliopolis called him the soul of Rā. He was a moon-god like Osiris and was his own begetter, 'Lord of Khemennu, self-created, to whom none hath given birth, god One.' R. V. Lanzzone, *Dizionario di Mitologia Egizia* (Turin, 1881-1884), 1265; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 412-414; *id.*, *Osiris*, 22.
17. Julius Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*. Ed. C. Halm, Vienna, 1867. See also *Mythologici Latini*, edited by Commelinus, 1599.
 18. *Mythologici Latini*, 299. Cp. *De Errore*, 27.
 19. Herodotus, Book II, 48.
 20. Ernest Alfred Wallis Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* (London, 1911), 37, 48, 224, 276; II, 176, 199. Cp. Miss Murray, *The Oseirion at Abydos* (London, 1904), 28. She calls it the Dad pillar. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II, 108 f. refers to it as the Ded pillar. As to its phallic significance cp. the Egyptian *sefa* ('to masturbate') — Budge, *Egyptian Dictionary*, 892.
 21. Budge, *Osiris*, 19.
 22. *Ib.*, 18-19.
 23. Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 41.
 24. *Ib.*, 43.
 25. Budge, *op. cit.*, 21.
 26. Adolf Erman, *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion*, trans. by A. S. Griffith (London, 1907), 20.
 27. Cp. the three-legged ass of the Avesta which assisted Tishtrya to rout Apaosha ('Drought'). As to the worship of the ass, see Salamon Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes et Religions*, I, 342 f.
 28. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Religion* in Hastings's *Encyclopædia*, V, 246; Max Müller, *Egyptian Mythology*, II, 447; Budge, *The Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 250.
 29. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, 62.
 30. Herodotus, II, 47-48.
 31. The snake was a phallic symbol.
 32. W. M. Flinders Petrie, *Egyptian Religion* in Hastings's *Encyclopædia*, V, 246.
 33. Budge, *op. cit.*, I, 28.
 34. *Ib.*, II, 64.
 35. *Ib.*, I, 64.
 36. *Ib.*, I, 105, 119, 125.
 37. *Ib.*, 130, 143.
 38. *Ib.*, 150-165.
 39. *Ib.*, II, 70.
 40. *Ib.*, II, 171.
 41. *Ib.*, II, 341.

42. Corresponding to his daily, monthly, and yearly resuscitations.
43. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, II, 98; Scholia in *Caesaris Germanica Aratea* in F. Eyssenhardt's edition of Martianus Capella (Leipzig, 1866), 408.
44. *Homeric Hymns*, Evelyn White's edition, 288-311. The same story is told of Thetis and the infant Achilles, the intruder in this case being Peleus, the father of the child. A later version of the myth substitutes the Styx for the hearth-fire. Oscar Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, revised and edited by Nettleship and Sandys (London, 1891), 2. See also Frazer's appendix, *Putting Children in the Fire*, in his edition of Apollodorus, II, 311-317.
45. *Scholia in Lucianum*, ed. H. Rebe, 275 f.
46. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, 64.
47. On the tenth of Lenaion, in a sacrifice to Eubouleus, Demeter and Koré, the first received a young pig, the second a sow, and the third an ungelded boar. Eubouleus ('Giver of good counsel') was the swineherd swallowed up with his swine when Pluto carried off Persephone. Cook, *Zeus*, I, 668.
48. As such she was sometimes represented as a female hippopotamus, which might be called a super-sow. C. P. Tiele, *History of the Egyptian Religion*, trans. from the Dutch by James Ballingal (London, 1882), 59, note 1.
49. See Chapter II.
50. Mariette-Bey, *Denderah*, IV, pl. 68-70; Budge, *op. cit.*, II, 41, 78; I, 19, 92, 280; Paul Foucart, *Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique* (Paris, 1904), 79.
51. Budge, *op. cit.*, 102.
52. Plutarch, *op. cit.*, 62.
53. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 476.
54. Budge, *Osiris*, II, 342.
55. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 484, 476.
56. Budge, *Osiris*, I, 65; II, 328; *id.*, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 91-92; Brugsch, *Religion und Mythologie der Älten Aegypter* (Leipzig, 1885-1888), 432.
57. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 100.
58. Budge, *Osiris*, II, 85-86; *id.*, *Book of the Dead*, ch. XLII.
59. 'She stirred up from his state of inactivity him whose heart was still [i.e. Osiris], she drew from him his seed, she made an heir, she suckled the babe in solitariness, and the place wherein she reared him is unknown.' Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, II, 150. This hymn was written about 1500 B.C., under the Eighteenth Dynasty.
60. Diodorus Siculus, I, 88. 5.
61. Plutarch, *op. cit.*, 73.
62. Miss Margaret A. Murray, *The Oseirion*, 30. The hare's head was fastened on a human victim.
63. Mariette-Bey, *Denderah*, IV, pl. lvi.

64. Budge, *Osiris*, 202-208.
65. It was presented to Prince Metternich by Muhammed 'Ali in 1828, and a facsimile of it, with texts and translations, was published by Golenischeff at Leipzig in 1877.
66. Budge, *op. cit.*, II, 274-276.
67. Plutarch, *op. cit.*, 20; Budge, *op. cit.*, I, 9.
68. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, 372-387.
69. Horapollo, *Hieroglyphica*, I, 12; Budge, *op. cit.*, 461.
70. Budge, *Osiris*, II, 64.
71. De Rougé in *Revue Archéologique*, I (1851), 58-60. Inscription of Uzahor-penres, son of Pefanit, priest of Neith at Sais. Cp. Plutarch, *op. cit.*, i. Cp. Tiele, *op. cit.*, 202-205; Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, 461-462.
72. From NE, glossed by the Assyrian *ishātu* ('fire'), combined with ITI, glossed by the Assyrian *arhu* ('moon, month, year'). The sign for ITI means 'waxing and waning,' hence moon and month and year. Prince, *op. cit.*, 254, 196; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 172 and 52.
73. Herodotus, II, 59, 62.
74. Cp. Sumerian NI, glossed by the Assyrian words *shamnu* ('oil') and *zikaru* ('male, phallus'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 256; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 231.
75. Daremberg-Saglio, *Dictionnaire des Antiquités*, I, 1. 308. Salt water was poured on the floor of the temple of the corresponding Syrian goddess. Loukian, *De dea Syria*, 13. Frazer gives several examples in which taboos on sexual intercourse were accompanied by taboos on eating salt.
76. Prince, *op. cit.*, 252; Deimel, *op. cit.*, 554. The regular sign for salt in Sumerian is MUN, glossed by *tābtu* ('salt'). The pictogram of this sign is 'container of seed.' Prince, *op. cit.*, 244; Muss-Arnolt, *Assyrian Dictionary*, 352.
77. Budge, *Gods of the Egyptians*, I, 450-465.
78. *Ib.*, I, 450; II, 250.
79. *Ib.*, I, 514, 500-501.
80. *Ib.*, I, 515. Cp. Sumerian NE ('fire') plus SIR, SER ('shining'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 243, 293. The final *t* is the Egyptian feminine ending. Cp. Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 172 and 371.
81. *Ib.*, I, 440-443, 463, 516.
82. *Ib.*, I, 428-432.
83. *Ib.*, II, 78, 104, 450-465; I, 100-112. Cp. Sumerian NU glossed by *nāku* ('to conceive'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 250; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 431.
84. *Ib.*, II, 28-30. Cp. Sumerian MUT glossed by *aladu* ('beget, be born'). The sign was a pictogram of a bird and an egg. Prince, *op. cit.*, 242.
85. *Ib.*, II, 101-102.
86. *Ib.*, II, 66.
87. Plutarch, *op. cit.*, 31. Cp. Herodotus. II, 38.

88. Budge, *Osiris*, I, 399-400. He identifies one bull with Horus. The other was called Sma-Ur, or Sma the Old, and Sma was one of the titles of Set.
89. Budge, *Osiris*, 399-400. According to the Pyramid Texts, the bull called Sma-Ur was offered to the deified soul of the dead Pepi.
90. Miss Margaret Murray, *The Oseirion at Abydos*, 28; Budge, *Osiris*, II, 22-23.
91. Shentit was merely another name for Isis. Budge, *Osiris*, 30.
92. Miss Murray, *loc. cit.*
93. Budge, *Osiris*, 58.
94. Mariette-Bey, *Denderah* (Paris, 1873-1880), 127; Victor Loret, *Les fêtes d'Osiris au mois de Khoiak, Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Egyptiennes et Assyriennes*, III (1882), 43; IV (1883), 21; V (1884), 85; H. Brugsch, *Das Osiris-Mysterium von Tentyra, Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde*, XIX (1881), 88-98; Paul Foucart, *Le Culte de Dionysos en Attique* (Paris, 1904), 140-149.
95. Budge, *Osiris*, II, 27-28, 30.
96. Frazer declares that this union was probably enacted by a man and a woman. *The Scapegoat*, 386.
97. Mariette-Bey, *op. cit.*, IV, pl. 68-70; Budge, *Osiris*, II, 41, 78; I, 19, 92, 280; Foucart, *op. cit.*, 79.
98. Foucart, *op. cit.*, 79-80.
99. In the Pyramid Texts of Pepi I the deified soul of that monarch is said to have broken the power of the raging rainstorm, and to have roared like Set. Budge, *Osiris*, II, 321.
100. *Ib.*, II, 173.
101. *Ib.*, II, 157.
102. *Ib.*, II, 159.
103. *Ib.*, II, 241.
104. *Ib.*, II, 159, 173.
105. *Ib.*, II, 175-176. The four sons of Horus were Hapi, Amset, Duamatef and Kebehsenuf. Prayers were offered to them to transport the dead to Paradise in the bark of the sun. They are said to have been sons of Isis, and to have risen from the water within the bud of a lotus. They were specially in charge of the entrails of the deceased. Erman, *op. cit.*, 94, 102, 129. The name Horus, Egyptian Heru, may be derived from the Sumerian HAR, HIR, HER, HUR, glossed by the Assyrian *hashû* ('entrails') and *libbu* ('heart') and *ešēnu* ('backbone'), combined with U, glossed both by *Shamash* and *Ishtar*. He was the heart, or essence, of the sun, or moon. Prince, *op. cit.*, 174-175, 338-339; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 401 and 381.
106. The idea that a good life entitled a man to enter the Tuat, regardless of magic spells, was already present in the Pyramid Texts, but this belief was exceptional. Erman, *op. cit.*, 94.

CHAPTER VI
THE GLORY OF YIMA

1. M. Monier-Williams, *Sanskrit-English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899), 637.
2. Percy Sykes, *A History of Persia* (London, 1930), 36-55.
3. *Ib.*, 78.
4. *Ib.*, 99.
5. Samuel Mercer, *A Sumero-Babylonian Sign List*, 7. KIENGI is glossed by the Assyrian *mātu* ('land') like the Sumerian MAD. T. G. Pinches, *Sumero-Akkadians* in Hastings's *Encyclopædia*, XII, 40. As to KIENGI (Sumer) and URI (Akkad) see Prince, *op. cit.*, 206, 352; Deimel, *Lexikon*, signs no. 461 k and 359.
6. It has been claimed that the Sumerians were Nordics. Cp. Sykes, *op. cit.*, XXX, and see Chapter II.
7. Marshall, *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* (London, 1931), *passim*.
8. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 99, 116.
9. Aristophanes in *The Birds* introduces the Persian cock *Medos*. He is questioned as to how he got there without his camel.
10. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 99.
11. Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus*, I, 190, note 3.
12. Archibald Henry Sayce, *Lectures on the Religion of the Ancient Babylonians*, 537.
13. A. Jeremias, *Teshub* in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, IV, 53-59.
14. Edward Meyer, *Persia — Ancient History*, *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, XXI, 202; Percy Sykes, *op. cit.*, 97-98.
15. See Chapter IV.
16. George Rawlinson, *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* (London, 1867), IV, 349; II, 374; Sykes, *op. cit.*, 117.
17. M. S. Zaborowski, *Les Peuples Aryens d'Asie et d'Europe* (Paris, 1908), 176-180.
18. Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, IV, 349-350; Sykes, *op. cit.*, 123.
19. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 140-141.
20. *Ib.*, 53.
21. The name is Sumerian. Prince, *op. cit.*, 98; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 433; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 47.
22. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 143.
23. *Ib.*, 176.
24. According to George Rawlinson, *op. cit.*, I, 159, note 7; 160, note 1, and Henry Rawlinson in *Journal of Asiatic Society*, XV, 227, note 2, the name Zarathushtra, or Zoroaster, signifies 'seed of Ishtar.' Cp. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 104, who claims that it contains the word *ustra*, 'camel,' which still exists in Persian in a slightly different form.

25. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 103-106. The oldest manuscripts, discovered among the Parsees of India, are now in the Bibliothèque Nationale.
26. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 8; Albert J. Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology (Mythology of all Nations, VI)* (Boston, 1927), 312-313.
27. James Hope Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (London, 1926), 275.
28. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 342-343.
29. *Yasna*, IX, 4-5.
30. *Vendīdād*, II, 3-4.
31. *Ib.*, II, 9-11; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 307.
32. *Vendīdād*, II, 21-31.
33. They were the fires Frōbak, Gūshasp, and Būrzhin Mitrō which were placed respectively on the mountain in Khvārizm, on Mount Asnavand and on Mount Rēvand. *Bundahish*, XVII, 5-8. Elsewhere we find other classifications of fire. The sacred flame that burns before Ahura Mazda and in the temples of fire is called Berezisavanh ('Very Useful') and also Spēnishtu ('Most Holy'); vital fire which keeps warm the bodies of men and animals is Vohu Fryāna ('Good Friend'); that which animates the plants and can be extracted from wood by friction is Urvāzhishta ('Most Delightful'); the aerial fire, the lightning, which purges the sky and destroys the demon Spenjaghrya is called Vāzishta ('Best Carrying'). Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 285. Except that the terrestrial fire is here divided to differentiate between its forms in the vegetable and animal kingdoms this preserves the usual three divisions — heavenly, earthly and atmospheric.
34. *Vendīdād*, II, 31-42.
35. *Yasna*, XXXII, 8; cp. J. H. Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 149; C. Bartholomae, *Altiranisches Wörterbuch*, col. 1866; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 309-310.
36. See Chapter III.
37. *Šad-Dar*, XCIV (trans. by T. Hyde, *Historia religionis veterum Persarum*, 485).
38. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 310-311.
39. *Bundahish*, XXIII, 1.
40. *Yasht*, XIX, 33.
41. *Shāhnāmah*, I, 134.
42. *Yasht*, XIX, 34-38; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 311. As to Thraētona, the Vedic Trita ('third'), see Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 265-266.
43. *Yasht*, XXXII, 8; XIX, 34 f.; Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism*, 149.
44. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 311.
45. Moulton, *loc. cit.*
46. See Chapter II.
47. See Chapter II.
48. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 315.
49. *Yasht*, V, 29-34; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 311.
50. *Shāhnāmah*, I, 140; Sykes, *History of Persia*, 134; Conroy, *op. cit.*, 311-

312. According to one account, Jamshid concealed himself in a hollow tree. The tree was sawed down by the orders of Dahhak and Jamshid was thus cut in two. Mirkhond, *History of the Early Kings of Persia*, trans. by D. Shea, 120. The god of fertility was frequently represented by a tree, the symbol of growth, the cutting down or burning of a tree being equivalent to the sacrifice of the god. With Azhi Dahāka cp. the Sumerian NIN.GISH.ZI.DA ('Lord of the Tree of Life'), called 'the great serpent dragon' and shown with snakes springing from his shoulders. — Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, 368 d, 368 b, 368 f; Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 114. This god was identified with Tammuz.
51. *Yasht*, XIX, 46.
 52. See Chapter II.
 53. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 295-298; *Vendidad*, II, 9-11.
 54. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 314.
 55. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 171-172.
 56. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 293-294. *Yasht*, XIII, 87; *Yasna*, XXVI, 10; *Bundahish*, XXX, 7; XXIV, 1; *Mainog-I-Khrāt*, XXVII, 14 and 18; F. Windischmann, *Zoroastrische Studien*, 216.
 57. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 298-299; *Shāhnāmah*, I, 120.
 58. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 299.
 59. F. Justi, *Iranisches Namenbuch*, 126. He is often called *paradhata* (Pāhlavi, *peshdat*) or 'first law-giver.'
 60. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 112. With the Zoroastrian Paradise or *Hara-Berezaiti* ('Lofty Mountain') compare the Sanskrit and Chinese accounts of the abode of the gods on Mount Sumeru, for which see Chapter II.
 61. *Yasht*, V, 21; XV, 7; XIX, 26; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 299-300.
 62. *Shāhnāmah*, I, 123. Cp. L. H. Gray, *Festivals and Fasts (Iranian)* in *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, edited by Hastings (Edinburgh, 1912), V, 873, 874. It was at one time the greatest fire-festival.
 63. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 299-302.
 64. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 135; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 322-323.
 65. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 327-328, 343. Cp. the bound Loki destined to escape and be slain at the end of the world.
 66. Sykes, *loc. cit.*; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 323-324.
 67. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.*, II, 16, ed. Butterworth, p. 39; Miss Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis*, 380.
 68. The Avestic Manushcithra ('offspring of Manu'). Manu is the Vedic name for the first man. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 329. It corresponds to the Sumerian MAN, one of the names of the sun-god Shamash, and like the latter appellation originally means 'twin.' Prince, *op. cit.*, 231. Manuscithra was the son of Erij's daughter, the only one of his children to escape.

69. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 324. This translation is correct if the word is a possessive compound. Literally it means 'slender horse' or 'slender horses.'
70. The Sanskrit Gandharva who has the epithet *Vitvāsu* ('Possessing All Good'), and was pierced by Indra. Keith, *Indian Mythology* (Boston, 1917), 58-59.
71. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 325-326.
72. Compare the eagle Camrōsh who conveyed the seed of the Ox-Horn Tree to Tishtrya. When the Turanians invade Persia, he descends from Hara Berezaity and picks up all the non-Iranians as a bird does grains of corn. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 289.
73. *Ib.*, 324-328.
74. *Ib.*, 332-334, and note 41, p. 367.
75. *Ib.*, 331-332.
76. *Ib.*, 329-332.
77. *Ib.*, 335. The Vedic sage presided over the planet Venus. Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, s.u. Uśanas. Kei Kaus has been identified with Cyaxares who died in 584 B.C., and Kei Kobad with Deiokes who died about 655 B.C. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 122, 131, 137.
78. *Ib.*, loc. cit. Similarly Tōishta, a Turanian, saved his town from being destroyed by Akhtya through solving the ninety-nine riddles of that devastating fiend and propounding three of his own which his antagonist could not answer. *Yasna*, XLVI, 12; *Yasht*, V, 81-83; J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, II, 386. In the *Mahābhārata* the hero Yudhishṭhira routs a gigantic serpent, by his skill in solving riddles. Angelo de Gubernatis, *Zoölogical Mythology* (London, 1872), 82.
79. As to Nairyōsangha, see Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 285. He compares the title with Narāsaṃsa ('Praise of men'), Indian name for the sacrificial fire.
80. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 336.
81. The name is etymologically equivalent to the Vedic Kavi Suśravas. Nevertheless, Kei Khusru is commonly identified with Cyrus the Great. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 137; Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 336-337. Suśravas was one of Indra's allies. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 64.
82. Angelo de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, 116-117. Firud, the twin brother of Kei Khusru, was a miraculous personage. A single hair of his head had more strength than many warriors. He was killed at sunset in his castle on a mountain peak, having lost his horse and been surrounded by mysterious enemies. His mother Cerire, who had dreamed that flames consumed both castle and mountain, perished in the conflagration when her dream was fulfilled. Kei Khusru bewails his brother all night, and in the morning seeks vengeance. *Ib.*, 117-118. The sun-hero is slain and rises again, putting the darkness to flight.
83. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 337-338.
84. *Ib.*, 338. The same story is told of Yudhishṭhira in the *Mahābhārata*. J. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, II, 661, note 29.

85. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 338-342; Sykes, *op. cit.*, 138.
86. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 340-341; Athenaeus, *Deipnosophistae*, XIII, 35. According to the Shāhnāmah, the hero of these adventures was Vishtāspa.
87. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 341.
88. Sykes, *loc. cit.*
89. Angelo de Gubernatis, *op. cit.*, 118-119.
90. Sykes, *loc. cit.*
91. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 138, 213-217.
92. James Hope Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (London, 1926), 31; Arthur Berriedale Keith, *The Religion and Philosophy of the Vedas and Upanishads* (Cambridge, 1927), 616.
93. Prince, *op. cit.*, 40, s.u. *Asaru*; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 44, ASAR, ASARU; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 77.
94. Moulton, *op. cit.*, 136.
95. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 260; Moulton, *op. cit.*, 110-115.
96. Moulton, *op. cit.*, 23.
97. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 276-277. Compare the story of the fall of Lucifer.
98. *Ib.*, 277-280, 267-271.
99. *Ib.*, 280-281.
100. *Ib.*, 281-283, 289. With the Gaokerena compare the ash Yggdrasil-Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda*, tr. by Brodeur, 29-30.
101. *Ib.*, 284.
102. Herodotus, I, 132; Moulton, *op. cit.*, 68, 394.
103. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 286, and note 24.
104. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 286-287.
105. Weisbach and Bang, *Die Altpersischen Keilinschriften* (1893), 44, 46.
106. Herodotus, I, 199. He says that the Persians had learned to sacrifice to the heavenly Aphrodite who was called by the Assyrians Mylitta, by the Arabians Alilat, by the Persians Mithra. Mylitta was an appellation of Ishtar. H. Stuart Jones, *Mithraism in Hastings's Encyclopædia*, VIII, 752; Moulton, *op. cit.*, 393-394.
107. Franz Cumont in Hastings's *Encyclopædia*, I, 414-415.
108. Cumont, *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*, Second Edition (Paris, 1909), 177; Jones, *loc. cit.*
109. *Yasht*, X, 7-13.
110. Maneckji Nusservanji Dhalla, *Zoroastrian Theology* (New York, 1914), 106.
111. *Yasht*, X, 1.
112. Plutarch, *Pomp.*, 24.
113. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels, 1896-1899), I, 149, and note 7, 304.
114. Cumont, *Textes et Monuments Figurés relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra* (Brussels, 1896-1899), I, 161.
115. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 94. Cp. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 10, 'the word "rock"

- (*adri*) is...regularly used in a mythological sense for "cloud" as enclosing the cows released by Indra and other gods.'
116. Cumont, *op. cit.*, 162, 93.
 117. *Ib.*, I, 163-164; Cumont in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, II, 2, 3047.
 118. British Museum Catalogue of Coins, LIV, f.; 71 pl. 15, 6; Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* (Leipzig, 1889), p. 63, pl. 10, 42; P. Gardner, *Types of Greek Coins*, p. 78, pl. 15, 6; Head, *Hist. Num.*, Second Edition, p. 695 f.; G. F. Hill in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Lycia, p. 71.
 119. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*, Caria, etc., p. 36, pl. 6, 7; Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller, *op. cit.*, p. 64, pl. 10, 43; Head, *Hist. Num.*, Second Edition, p. 610.
 120. Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münzen*, p. 142 f.; No. 422, pl. 9, 29; A. Lobbecke, *Zeitschrift f. Num.*, XVII (1890), II f., pl. 2, 1.
 121. A. Lobbecke, *loc. cit.*; Imhoof-Blumer, *Gr. Münzen*, 143. For a less probable theory see Cook, *Zeus*, II, 681.
 122. Jones, in Hastings's *Encyclopædia*, VIII, 754.
 123. Cumont, *Textes*, I, 164-166; *id.*, in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, II, 2, 3047; Jones, *Mithraism* in Hastings's *Encyclopædia*, VIII, 757-758.
 124. Macdonell, *op. cit.*, 83-84; *Rigveda*, 5, 83, 1; *Atharvaveda*, 4, 15, 1; *Rigveda*, 7, 102, 2.
 125. Cumont, *Textes*, I, 179; *id.*, in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, II, 2, 3051; Jones, *Mithraism*, Hastings's *Encyclopædia*, VIII, 757.
 126. Cumont in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, II, 2, 3054, identifies him with the sun by the scourge he carries. But the bull was an incarnation of the sun, as well as of fire and lightning.
 127. Cumont, *Textes*, I, 196-197; *id.* in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, II, 2, 3054-3055. See the cut of this plaque, p. 3054.
 128. Carnoy, *op. cit.*, 311.
 129. *Ib.*, 271-272. His other metamorphoses were the shapes of a youth of fifteen, a white horse, a wind, a camel, a wild boar, a wild ram, a fighting buck, and a hero.
 130. Sykes, *op. cit.*, 488-502, 505-506.
 131. *Ib.*, 521-534, 513.
 132. Cp. Moulton, *Zarathushtra and Israel*, in *Early Zoroastrianism*, 286-331.
 133. Andrew Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, New Edition (London, 1899), II, 318-327.

CHAPTER VII

THE TREE OF KNOWLEDGE

1. Sålomon Reinach, *Orpheus, A History of Religions* (New York, 1930), 198.
2. *Ib.*, 197.

3. *Ib.*, 195. At a later time this feast of the first fruits of the flock was related to the exodus from Egypt when the angel of death spared, according to tradition, those Israelites whose doors were marked with the blood of a lamb.
4. Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda*, trans. by Brodeur, 61-69.
5. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), 290; Al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, 326, 1, 3 f.
6. Prince, *op. cit.*, 95.
7. Av. *pairidaeza* ('walled enclosure'), hence (in Persian) 'park.' James Hope Moulton, *Early Zoroastrianism* (London, 1926), 330, note 2.
8. AR. ARATTA from AR = *tanattu* ('height') = *karmu* ('heap') and ARATTA = *zllamu* ('highland'), the name of the country Elam. Prince, *op. cit.*, 37, 39, 98; Deimel, *Lexikon*, signs no. 306 and 436 a.
9. C. Leonard Woolley, *Ur of the Chaldees* (New York, 1930), 17-30.
10. Stephen Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford, 1923), *passim*.
11. *Job*, XXVI, 10, XXVIII, 8, 11. Bel-Marduk also set impassable limits to the power of the sea. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 36.
12. *Jeremiah*, V, 22.
13. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 188.
14. *Ib.*, *loc. cit.*
15. *Genesis*, I, 26.
16. *Genesis*, III, 22.
17. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 189.
18. *Ib.*, 196.
19. Prince, *op. cit.*, 172, 231, 338. It is literally 'The corner wedge double.' The corner wedge has the meaning *bêlu* ('Lord, god') and was the unit in the signs which represented the names of the deities. Doubled, it meant Shamash, the sun-god. For the signs HJA and MAN see Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 411 and 471.
20. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 182.
21. Stephen Langdon in University of Pennsylvania Museum Publications, Babylonian Section, X (1915-1919), 15. Utnapishtim is a Semitic translation of the Sumerian ZI.UD.
22. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 36.
23. *Genesis*, IX, 21-27. Noah's remote ancestor, the son of Seth ('Seed') was Enos, which appears to be derived from the Sumerian EN.US ('god of the phallus'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 101, 355; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 99 and 211.
24. Hastings, *Encyclopædia of the Bible*, s.u. Noah.
25. *Genesis*, V, 29.
26. Terah, according to some authorities, is etymologically connected with the Assyrian *turaḥu* ('ibex antelope') derived from the Sumerian DU.RA.AḤ, DA.RA which is glossed by *turaḥu* and by 'Ea' ('the god Ea'). Deimel, *Lex.*, sign no. 100.

27. Hastings, *Encyclopædia, s.u.* Abraham. In Sumerian AB.RAM would mean 'beloved father.' Prince, *op. cit.*, 11, 21-22; Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 128 and 183.
28. *Genesis*, XII, 11-20.
29. Cp. Assyrian *abu* ('father') and *maliku* ('king'). Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 4, 547.
30. *Genesis*, XX, 2-18. Sarah at the time was over ninety. Her name means *princess*, while her original name Sarai signifies *contentious*. Like all fertility-goddesses, she was a Dangerous Bride. The rejuvenation of Abram, in an older form of the story, was probably the result of his sacrifice.
31. *Ib.*, XVII, 17; XXI, 2-5; XVIII, 1-15; XVII, 9-14, 23-27.
32. Hastings, *Encyclopædia, s.u.* Isaac.
33. *Genesis*, XXII, 1-13.
34. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 195.
35. *Genesis*, XXVI, 7-11.
36. *Genesis*, XXVII, 1-45. This obscure legend probably represents the sacrifice of a divine son, in the shape of his sacred animal, corresponding to Abraham's offering up of Isaac.
37. For these etymologies see Lewis Bayles Paton, *Baal, Beel, Bel*, in Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, II, 286-287, and cp. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 196.
38. *Genesis*, XXXII, 24-32. His new name, Israel, may mean *God Combats*. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 181. Apparently it indicates that Jacob was the adversary of the deity in a ritualistic combat.
39. *Exodus*, II, 10.
40. This child-murder suggests the ritualistic slaying of the young god, as in the myths of Horus and Dionysos.
41. It turned into a snake on two occasions. *Exodus*, IV, 2-4; VII, 10-12. Apparently, as in the myth of Mithra, it represents the lightning-snake which burst from the thunder-cloud, releasing the waters. It also had a phallic significance. Note that Moses also wrestles with the Lord, like Jacob. The Lord seeks to kill him but relents when Zipporah, the wife of Moses, cuts off the foreskin of her son and throws it at his feet. *Exodus*, IV, 24-26. This appears analogous to the action of the angel who touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh, and caused the sinew to shrink.
42. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 197.
43. *Numbers*, XX, 23-28.
44. *Numbers*, XXVII, 18-23; *Deuteronomy*, XXXIV, 1-5. Nebo was an Assyrian deity, the son, or reincarnation of Bel-Marduk. He presided over the planet Mercury, and corresponded to the Egyptian Thoth and the Greek Hermes.
45. C. Leonard Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford, 1928), 21.
46. *Genesis*, V, 3-32.

47. J. G. Frazer, *Folklore in the Old Testament*, 4; Reinach, *op. cit.*, 199-200.
48. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 187, 198.
49. *Genesis*, IV, 25.
50. *Genesis*, III, 17-18.
51. *Genesis*, IV, 11-12.
52. *Genesis*, IV, 18-26.
53. W. H. Bennett, *Adam*, in Hastings's *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics*, I, 84. In Sumerian AD.AMA means 'male and female.' Deimel, *Lexikon*, signs nos. 145 and 237. Cp. *Genesis*, V, 3: 'Male and female created he them; and blessed them, and called their name Adam in the day when they were created.' With AD.AMA cp. AD.MU Assyrian *admu* ('child, son'). MU.—Deimel, *op. cit.*, no. 554—is a sign for female or mother, like AMA.
54. Carnoy, *Iranian Mythology*, 293-294.
55. *Ib.*, 294-298.
56. *Ib.*, 304-319.
57. Keith, *Indian Mythology*, 52.
58. *Ib.*, 53-54; Reinach, *op. cit.*, 53. Macdonell, *Vedic Mythology*, 14-15, 138-139, 171-173. As the god of death he is called Yama ('Twin'). Like Manu, Yama is a son of Vivasvat, and the begetter of mankind.
59. Their texts are combined, translated, and interpreted by Miss Jane Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1903), 624-673.
60. Compare, however, the Sumerian TI.TAN from TI glossed by *dūtu* ('virility') and TAN glossed by *idlu* ('man'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs nos. 73 and 322.
61. Translated by Gilbert Murray, and cited by Cook, *Zeus*, I, 399.
62. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, V, 94, and note c.
63. See Chapter II.
64. J. G. Frazer, *The Dying God*, 163-164.
65. Reinach, *op. cit.*, 99; Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, II, 4-6.
66. Richard Folkard, *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics*, Second Edition (London, 1892), 218.
67. Rendel Harris, *The Ascent of Olympus*, 47-55.
68. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 682.
69. Folkard, *op. cit.*, 217-225.
70. Snorri Sturluson, *The Prose Edda*, trans. by Brodeur, 89-92, 129-133.
71. Prince, *op. cit.*, 13, 270. From AB, glossed by *littu* ('offspring'), and PIL, glossed by *ishātu* ('fire'). The sign PIL was also read BIL, just as AB was also read AP. Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs no. 420 and no. 72. As Skeat points out, connecting the word *apple* with the Campanian town Abella is not satisfactory.
72. Folkard, *op. cit.*, 499-502.
73. Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.*, II, 13.

74. Arnobius, *Adversus Nātiōnes*, V, 5 f.
75. The name is a gunation of the Sumerian NA, which was glossed by *abnu elū* ('high rock') and by *shamū* ('sky'). The Sumerians viewed the sky as a crystal dome arising from the earth, and hence the goddess of earth was also the goddess of the sky. According to Strabo, Nanā was the Earth-Goddess, the Great Mother. For the sign NA see Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 70, and note the form NA.NA.A.
76. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 294.
77. *Ib.*, I, 586-587; Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, I (Bonn, 184), CVII. Cited by Charles Vellay, *Le Culte et les Fêtes d'Adonis-Thammouz dans l'Orient Antique* (Paris, 1904), 23-24.
78. For AD, AT, see Thureau-Dangin, *Les Homophones Sumériens*, 1; Prince, *op. cit.*, 17; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 145.
79. Movers, *loc. cit.*
80. Cook, *Zeus*, 651.
81. Sayce, *Hibbert Lectures*, 236.
82. Sumerian AP.LU, from AP = *littu* ('offspring'), and LU = *amēlu* ('man'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 13, 225. LU became the Assyrian *lū* ('bull') from the sense 'full of seed.' Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs nos. 420 and 330.
83. A.BEL, from A = *aplu* ('son') and BEL or BIL = *ishātu* ('fire'). The Sumerian *i* and *e* interchanged as in DE = DI. Prince, *op. cit.*, 4, 58, XI. Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs nos. 579 and 172.
84. Edgar Howard Sturtevant, *Hittite Glossary*, Language Monographs published by the Linguistic Society of America, Number IX (Baltimore, 1931), 31; Friedrich, *ZA*, NF 3.196 f.; Prince, *op. cit.*, 197, 189-190.
85. Sumerian KA.A, glossed by *kabu* ('word, speech, cry') plus I.IM, NI.I, glossed by *rādu* ('thunderstorm'). Deimel, *op. cit.*, signs nos. 15 and 599.
86. *Encyc. Biblica*, V, 1; George A. Barton, *Archaeology and the Bible*, 269.
87. W. H. Bennett, *Eve* in Hastings's *Encyclopædia*, V, 607. The name *Eve* may be the Sumerian ĤA.A.MA.AĤ, from ĤA.A, glossed by *nūnu* ('fish, prolific one') and by *puridu* ('womb, phallus, genitals'), combined with MA.AĤ, glossed by *rabū* ('great'). The *M* had the sound value of *W*. Prince, *op. cit.*, 10. The Hebrew Jahweh, Jahwaah, may be the Sumerian IA.ĤA.A.MA.AĤ, meaning 'the god of the womb.' Cp. IA, glossed by *tanittu* ('lofty one, sky-god, Bel-Marduk'). In that case Jahweh, like Adam, represented the Yang and the Yin, the male and female forces of reproduction. For ĤA.A, MA.AĤ and IA see Deimel, signs nos. 589, 57, and 143.
88. Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Third Edition (Oxford, 1924), 117.

CHAPTER VIII
BEAUTY AND THE BOAR

1. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, II, 72.
2. *Ib.*, I, 386-387.
3. Grimm, *Teutonic Mythology*, trans. by Stallybrass, I, 224, 1231-1232.
4. C. F. Burney, *The Book of Judges* (London, 1918), XVII f.; C. J. Ball in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archaeology*, XVI (1894), 195 f. As to Turkish borrowings from Sumerian see Archibald Henry Sayce in *Philol. Society* (1877-1878), 1-20; M. F. Hommel, *Zweihundert sumero-türkische Wortvergleichen als Grundlage zu einen neuen Kapitel der Sprachwissenschaft* (Munich, 1925); S. A. B. Mercer, *Journ. Soc. Or. Res.*, V (1921), 105 f. For the pig as a symbol of fruitfulness in the agricultural rites of Greece, see Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (New York, 1923), 34.
5. Robertson Smith, *The Religion of the Semites*, 290; Al-Nadim, *Fihrist*, 326, I, 3 f.
6. See Chapter II.
7. Langdon, *The Epic of Creation*, 55.
8. *Ib.*, 39.
9. Compare the passage in which Gilgamesh reproaches Ishtar for causing the deaths of her lovers. Jastrow, *Religion of Babylonia and Assyria*, 482.
10. The ram, which represented Kingu, and the white bull of Anu, were sacrificed in the ritual that restored Bel-Marduk to life. They are paralleled in Egypt by Ammon, the ram-god of Thebes, and by Serapis, the bull-form of Osiris.
11. W. M. Ramsay, *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* (Oxford, 1895), 6-10; *id.*, *Phrygia*, in *Encyclopædia Britannica*, Eleventh Edition, XXI, 541-545.
12. Cp. Sumerian *EL*, glossed by *ebēbu* ('pure, to be or become pure'), by *ellu* ('pure'), by *teliltu* ('purification'), and by *shāru* ('god'). Deimel, *Lexikon*, sign no. 564; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 1107.
13. Loukian, *De dea Syria*, 6, 9; T. S. Donaldson, *Architectura Numismatica* (London, 1859), 105 f.; Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, III, XIV, 3-4; Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 58; Frazer's *Apollodorus*, II, 86, note 1; Antonius Liberalis, *Transform.*, 34.
14. J. G. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, I; Phylo of Byblos, quoted by Eusebius, *Praeparatio Evangelii*, I, 10; *Fragmenta Historicorum Graecorum*, ed. C. Muller, III, 568. As to *El* and *Bel* compare the name which in *Judges*, VIII, 33, is given as Baal-Berith and in *Judges*, IX, 46, as El-Berith, and consult Charles Vellay, *Le Culte et les Fêtes d'Adonis-Thamouz* (Paris, 1904), 21.
15. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, III, xiv, 3-4, Frazer's text and translation, II, 85.

16. *Ib.*, loc. cit.; Frazer, *Apollodorus*, 86-89; Interp. Serv. in Virgil, *Aeneid*, 5, 72; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 164; Fulgent. *Myth.*, 3-8; *Myth. Vat.*, I, 200, 2-34, 3, II, 17.
17. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, Third Edition, I, 22; Second Edition, I, 186.
18. Apollodorus, *Bibliotheca*, loc. cit.
19. E. Renan, *Mission de Phénicie*, 292-294.
20. Vellay, *op. cit.*, 29-30.
21. E. Cureton, *Spicelegium Syriacum* (London, 1855), 44; J. G. Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*, II, 23.
22. Loukian, *De dea Syria*, Harmon's edition (London and New York, 1925), IV, 342-345. For other instances of the custom of religious prostitution in the worship of the Mother-Goddess, see the references given by John Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess* (London, 1913), 46, note 14.
23. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 225, note 4; Loukian, *De dea Syria*, 8, Harmon's edition, IV, 346-347; Strong and Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, 47-48.
24. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 735; Miller's edition (London and New York, 1926), II, 116-117.
25. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 49, note 7. This was also probably the custom at Corinth, where the princes regularly bore the title of Adonis. Cinyras, the father of Adonis, is said to have been the handsomest of men and to have been wooed by Aphrodite. Loukian, *Rhetorum praeceptor*, II; Hyginus, *Fab.*, 270. Compare also the story of Pygmalion, the reputed father-in-law of Adonis. Pygmalion is said to have fallen in love with a statue of Aphrodite and to have lain with it. Arnobius, *Adversus Natiōnes*, VI, 22; Clement of Alexandria, *Protreptikos*, IV, 57, 51, editor Potter. The sacred grove of Adonis near Byblos was destroyed by Constantine because of the obscenity of the rites that were practiced there. Eusebius, *Vita Constantini*, III, 55; Sozomenus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, II, 5; Socrates, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, I, 18. Religious prostitution is said to have been established at Paphos by Cinyras, Frazer, *op. cit.*, 41. As to the suicide of Cinyras or Thias see Hyginus, *Fab.*, 242; Antonius Liberalis, *Transform.*, 34.
26. Vellay, *op. cit.*, 155; Andrew Lang, *Theocritus, Bion and Moschus Rendered into English Prose* (London, 1918), 82-83, 171-176.
27. Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 218; Vellay, *op. cit.*, 250. Cp. Theocritus, *Idyl XXX*, Lang, *op. cit.*, 157-158.
28. Loukian, *De dea Syria*, 54.
29. Antiphanes, *Corinthia*, cited by Athenæus, 96 A, who also refers to the *Husteria* or feast of pigs at Argos probably associated with the cult of Adonis.
30. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 290.
31. J. G. Frazer, *Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild* (London, 1925), II, 31; *id. Totemism and Exogamy* (London, 1910), II, 388, 590, 604.

32. Vellay, *op. cit.*, 93-94. For a similar substitution of the thigh for the genitals cp. *Exodus*, XXIV, 9.
33. Strong and Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, 52-55. Cp. the euhemerized version in the story of Combabus and Stratonice, *ib.*, 60-65. For the ritual of castration practiced by the Galli see *ib.*, 84-85.
34. Stephen Langdon, *The Epic of Creation*, 74-79.
35. George Smith, *The Chaldean Account of Genesis*, New Edition (New York, 1880), 234.
36. Hesiod, *Theogony*, lines 178-187, Evelyn-White's edition, 92-93; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.*, II, par. 13, Butterworth's edition, 32-33.
37. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, I f.
38. Rendel Harris, *The Ascent of Olympus* (Manchester, London, etc., 1917), 136; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, 628; Joannes Lydus, *De Mensibus*, 4, 89; Macrobius, *Saturnalia*, 3, 8; Catullus, 68, 51; Servius, Scholia to Virgil, *Aeneid*, 2, 632; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore prof. relig.*, 80, editor Halm.
39. Pausanias, VII, 17, 9; Hugo Hepding, *Attis, seine Mythen und sein Kult* (Gieszen, 1903), 100.
40. *Nicandri alexipharmakon*, 6-8 (editor Schneider). Nicander was a hereditary priest of Apollo at Colophon in the middle of the second century B.C. See Hepding, *op. cit.*, 8. An analogous story is told of Derketo, another name for the Syrian deity. A young Syrian shepherd won her love but was killed by the goddess in a belated access of modesty after she had borne him a child. She drowned herself in a lake, after exposing her daughter, who was nourished by doves, was named Semiramis ('Dove') and at the end of her life flew away in the form of a dove. The dove was the sacred bird of Ishtar. Another version of the tale makes the child a son named Ichthys ('Fish') and declares that he perished with his mother through being precipitated into a pool where they were devoured by fish. Arthur Bernard Cook, *Zeus*, I, 583, note 4; G. F. Hill, *Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age*, reprinted from the *Proceedings of the British Academy*, V, 9.
41. Ishtar was called Nanā. See Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, under *Nanā* and *Ishtar*. The name is a gunation of the Sumerian NA, glossed by *abnu* ('rock') and by *shamū* ('high heaven'). Cp. Sumerian KI, glossed by *eršitu* ('earth') and by *anna*, which is *Anu* ('god of the sky') and *Antu* ('goddess of the sky'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 249, 202, 32; Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 70. DINGIR NA = *Ishtar*, DINGIR NA.NA.A = *Ishtar*.
42. Perhaps a euphemism for the phallus. Compare the story that Epaphos, or Apis, was begotten by a touch of Zeus's finger. Apollodorus, II, I, 3.
43. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 103-110; Cook, *Zeus*, II, 969, note 4.
44. Diodorus Siculus, III, 58-59; Hepding, *op. cit.*, 16-17.
45. Probably the god Men who was confused with Attis. His name is

- perhaps the Sumerian MEN glossed by *sharru* ('king, god'). For the confusion of Men and Attis see Franz Cumont, *The Oriental Religions in Roman Paganism*, translated by Grant Showerman (Chicago, 1911), 61-62.
46. Rapp, *Kybele* in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, II, 1638-1672.
 47. Ovid, *Fasti*, IV, 221 f.; Hepding, *op. cit.*, 18, 113.
 48. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 731-739, Miller's edition, 117.
 49. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, X, 103-105; Miller's edition, 117.
 50. Angelo de Gubernatis, *La Mythologie des Plantes ou les Légendes du Règne Végétal* (Paris, 1882), II, 289-290; Folkard, *op. cit.*, 495. The pine cone was also considered a symbol of the heart of Zagreus, which generated his second incarnation.
 51. Felix Minucius, *Octavius*, 22, 1 and 22, 4 (editor C. Halm); Hepding, *op. cit.*, 30-31.
 52. Servius, note on Virgil's *Aeneid*, IX, 115; Hepding, *op. cit.*, 60.
 53. Arnobius, *Adversus Natiōnes*, V, 5 f. The two stories are combined in his account. They are disentangled by Hepding, *op. cit.*, 103-110; 107-119.
 54. Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, Chapter 3 (editor C. Halm).
 55. Julian, *Fifth oration*, editor Hertlein, 159 A; Franz Cumont, in *Revue de philol.* (1892), 51; Hepding, *op. cit.*, 120-121.
 56. W. M. Ramsay, *Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia*, 91-93.
 57. Robertson Smith, *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites* (London, 1894), 365.
 58. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, I, 268; Trebellius Pollio Claudius, 4; Tertullian, *Apologeticus*, 25. Attis was the title of the high-priest of the cult.
 59. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 272-273.
 60. *Ib.*, 39.
 61. Langdon, *Tammuz and Ishtar*, 43-47; Prince, *op. cit.*, 135, 32, 249. The sign GESHTIN is a compound of GESH, glossed by *isu* ('plant, wood') and TIN, glossed by *balātu* ('life'). The whole title GESHTIN-ANNA means 'the plant of life of the deity of the sky' or 'the wine of heaven.' The Sumerian Bel was the god of mead and wine. One of his titles was Nindara ('Lord of the Magic Plant').
 62. F. C. Movers, *Die Phoenizier*, I (Bonn, 1841), c. VII. Cited by Charles Vellay, *op. cit.*, 23-24.
 63. *Ezekiel*, VIII, 1 and 14; Vellay, *loc. cit.*
 64. Folkard, *op. cit.*, 453. The myrrh tree, a kind of balsam, is closely akin to the pine. At the festival of Isis, the Egyptians sacrificed an ox filled with myrrh. The remarkable fragrance exhaled by Isis was probably the smell of myrrh. The Persian kings wore crowns of myrrh.
 65. Frazer, *Adonis, Attis, Osiris*, 267.
 66. Hepding, *op. cit.*, 199 f.

67. Frazer, *op. cit.*, 275 and note 1, 276 and note 2.
68. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, 626-627.
69. Strong and Garstang, *The Syrian Goddess*, 83-84.
70. Budge, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection*, II, 101-102.
71. N. Tsakni, *La Russie sectaire* (Paris, n.d.), 74 f.; D. Mackenzie Wallace, *Russia* (London, 1877), 302; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Third Edition (London, 1925), II, 145, note 1, IV, 196, note 3.

CHAPTER IX

THE ROOTS OF OLYMPOS

1. Lewis Richard Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* (Oxford, 1921), 95-96.
2. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock, II (Cambridge, 1926), 501.
3. *Ib.*, I, 613, II, 491.
4. *Ib.*, II, 489.
5. Herbert Jennings Rose, *A Handbook of Greek Mythology Including its Extension to Rome* (London, 1928), 13.
6. Farnell, *op. cit.*, 340.
7. Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Third Edition (Oxford, 1924), 27, 32.
8. Sir Monier Monier-Williams, *A Sanskrit English Dictionary* (Oxford, 1899), 261, col. 3., s.u. kali.
9. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, lines 109-1696, Evelyn-White, 10-15. The honor and glory accorded to the heroes was a sacrificial cult as is pointed out by Farnell, *op. cit.*, 13-14.
10. Farnell, *op. cit.*, II, 89.
11. *Ib.*, 68, 66.
12. *Ib.*, 334.
13. *Ib.*, 315.
14. *Ib.*, 335.
15. See the article on Kadmos in Wilhelm Roscher, *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig, 1884-1890), I, 826-894.
16. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, IV, 469-471.
17. Rhys Carpenter, *The Antiquity of the Greek Alphabet*, *American Journal of Archaeology*, XXXVII (1933), 7-29.
18. See my article, *The Prehistory of the Alphabet*, *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*, XXXV (1934).
19. *The Cambridge Ancient History*, edited by J. B. Bury, S. A. Cook, and F. E. Adcock, Second Edition (New York, 1928), 262-263; Leonard

- Woolley, *The Sumerians* (Oxford, 1928), 13-17, 42-45, plate 6, 54-55, 164, 178-179, 191; *id.*, *Ur of the Chaldees* (New York, 1930), 28, 46-49.
20. Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, Third Edition (Oxford, 1924), 31, note 2.
 21. See Chapter II.
 22. Sumerian INU, glossed by Assyrian *inu* ('running water, well, fountain'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 192; W. Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 66. Cp. Greek *inaō* ('to purge, to make gush forth'). Émile Boisacq, *Dictionnaire Étymologique de la Langue Grecque*, Seconde Édition (Paris, 1928), 376.
 23. Seeliger, *Athamas*, in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 669-675.
 24. See Jessen, *Semele*, in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 662-675.
 25. Scholiast on Euripides, *Phoen.*, 8; cp. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 785.
 26. Cp. the Greek *labidōō* ('to seize with pincers, to castrate').
 27. E. Thraemer, *Dionysos*, in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1029-1153.
 28. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 551.
 29. Apollodorus, *The Library*, III, v. 5, Frazer, 335.
 30. Her name is from *anti* ('against') and *opē* ('eye'). For Antiope as a moon-goddess see Cook, *Zeus*, 738 and note 12. Cp. Pott, *Etymologische Spähne, Zeit. für vergleich. sprach.*, VI (1857), 268.
 31. See above, Chapter VIII.
 32. Wilisch, *Epopeus*, in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1293-1295. For the etymology and the similar appellatives of Zeus see Cook, *Zeus*, 737.
 33. Pausanias, IX, 25, 3. For the special devotion of Dirke to Dionysos cp. Pausanias, IX, 17, 3, where he also mentions the common tomb of Zethos and Amphion and the fertility rites connected with it. As to the secret sacrifices at the fountain of Dirke, or of Ares, cp. A. Pauly, *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumwissenschaft*, bearbeitet von Georg Wissowa, Second Edition (Stuttgart, 1894), *s.u.* *Dirke*.
 34. Wilhelm Pape, *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*, Dritte Auflage, Neu bearbeitet von Gustav Eduard Benseler, Zweiter Abdruck (Braunschweig, 1875), 443. He derives it from *zētēō* ('to seek'). Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 309. But the word is probably the Sumerian ZE.DA = *zēda* ('to the right') = *napishtu* ('life'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 363, 365. Zethos represents the rising sun, while Amphion corresponds to Laios, the setting sun, abductor of Chrysispos ('Golden Horse'). The two are the Theban Mitra and Varuṇa.
 35. Pauly-Wissowa, *s.u.* *Amphion*.
 36. See above, Chapter III.
 37. See above, Chapter IV.
 38. Höfer, *Thebe* in Roscher, *Lex. Myth.*, V, 552-553.
 39. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 1010. Cp. the Sumerian NI.UB.E.E. ('goddess of the enclosure of waters'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 257, 259, 340, 3; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 24, 36, 7.
 40. Cp. Sumerian PE.LU.PES ('Strong Lord'), from PE.LU = *pēlu*

- ('lord') and PESH = *mamlu* ('strong'). The original meaning of PESH appears to have been 'great fish' as the sign is a gunation of HA, glossed by *nūnu* ('fish'), and by *biṣṣuru* ('pudendum feminae'). PE.LU was one of the names of Marduk, who was also called AN.AMA ('god of the womb') and *bēlu rabū* ('great lord'). Thureau-Dangin, *Les Homophones Sumériens*, 25, 21, 26; Prince, *op. cit.*, 56, 189, 269, 172; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 802, 156, 586. On Pelops see Bloch in Roscher, *op. cit.*, III, 1866-1875.
41. Oskar Seyffert, *A Dictionary of Classical Antiquities*, translated, revised, and edited by Henry Nettleship and J. E. Sandys (London, 1891), 132.
 42. Pape-Benseler, 366. As to Oidipous, see Höfer in Roscher, *op. cit.*, III, 699-746.
 43. Cp. Angelo de Gubernatis, *Zoölogical Mythology, or the Legends of Animals* (London, 1872), 30-32.
 44. Rose, *op. cit.*, 188.
 45. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 41.
 46. The name is from *anti* ('against') and *gonē* ('procreation'). Berry, *op. cit.*, 38, 144. Cp. Antiope.
 47. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 25.
 48. *Ib.*, 601. Apparently he is Zethos born again.
 49. See Hyginus, *Fabulae*, 72, who delays the double death of Haimon and Antigone till their son Maion is grown up.
 50. Homer, *Iliad*, IV, 394.
 51. Cook, *Zeus*, 770, note 3; 780, note 5.
 52. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 428. As to the Dioskouroi see Bethe, *Dioskuren*, in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, Neunter Halbband (Stuttgart, 1903), 1087-1123, and A. Furtwängler in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1154-1178; Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 175-228; Cook, *Zeus*, 422-440; Rose, *Handbook*, 230-231.
 53. Euripides, Fragment of *Antiope* in *Cunningham Memoirs*, VIII, C. 55.
 54. Both are referred to the Lykian *lada* ('woman'). Cook, *Zeus*, 763, note 4; Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, Supplement, Band V (Stuttgart, 1932), 571. Both are probably derived from Sumerian LÊD also read AB, AP and RIM and glossed by the Assyrian *arḫu* ('moon'), *rêmu* ('womb'), *litu* or *lêtu* ('cow'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 223, 13-14; Thureau-Dangin, *Les Homophones Sumériens*, 21; Deimel, *Lexikon*, sign no. 420.
 55. Pfuhl, in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, VII (Stuttgart, 1912), 2812, says that the etymology is wholly obscure. But cp. R. Engelmann, Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1977, who gives much evidence that Helen was identified with the moon, and derives her name from *selēnē* ('moon'). The name may be derived from the Sumerian SE.LE.NA ('shining crescent of the sky'). Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 28, 20, 23; Prince, *op. cit.*, 284, 222, 157, 249.

56. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 468, 641. Her name may mean 'she who has famous suitors' from *klutós* and *mnēstēr*, or 'famous counsellor' from *klutós* and *mēstōr*. Berry, *op. cit.*, 445, 450, 381.
57. See Chapter IV. As to the Ásvins as swans and horses, see Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 1286 under 1. haṃsá.
58. Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 204-205.
59. Martin P. Nilsson, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* (Berkeley, 1932), 170. Cp. *ib.*, 74-75.
60. According to Plutarch, he was so named from *thēsis* ('putting') because of the sword and sandals which Aigeus put under a stone or from *thēsthai* ('to acknowledge') because Aigeus acknowledged him. *Plutarch's Lives*, trans. by Dryden and revised by Clough (Boston, 1872), 4. Berry, *op. cit.*, 318, accepts the first of these guesses, and says that the name probably means 'Settler.' It seems more likely that it signifies 'lord' or 'ruler,' like Adonis.
61. Gilbert Murray, *The Rise of the Greek Epic*, 206.
62. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 436, 440.
63. Homer, *Iliad*, III, 245.
64. Ficht-Bechtel, *op. cit.*, 429, 393.
65. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 105.
66. Pindar, *Nem.* 10, 148 f., trans. by Sir J. E. Sandys.
67. Pape-Benseler, 1130.
68. According to Hesychius, Hektor is an appellative applied to Zeus by Sappho. It is derived from the Greek verb 'to hold.' Hesychius says it is a Phrygian translation of the Persian *Dareios*, which comes from Old Persian *dar* ('to hold'). Lehnert declares that it is probably the Greek translation of a Phrygian name. Cp. the Sumerian DAR, a name for the god Bel or Enlil whom the Babylonians called Marduk. Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, Siebenter Band (Stuttgart, 1912), 2806-2818; Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1910-1927; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 5; Prince, *op. cit.*, 72; 261-262; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 693-695; Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexikon*, 99.
69. Sumerian ID glossed by Assyrian *nannaru* ('luminary') and by *ilu Sin* ('the moon-god'). Cp. Ficht-Bechtel on Idas, footnote 64; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 15; Prince, *op. cit.*, 185.
70. See *Klētos* ('gain') in Berry, *op. cit.*, 396. For the revival of Philoktetes after he was bitten by a snake, while sacrificing to Apollo, see Apollodorus, *Epitome*, 3. 27; *ib.*, 5. 8.
71. For his history, and that of the greater Aias, see Fleischer in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 115-139; Farnell, *op. cit.*, 293-310.
72. Farnell, *op. cit.*, 23-30.
73. Pausanias, III, 19, 9 f.
74. Apollodorus, *Epitome*, VI, 29, Frazer, II, 279. As to the meaning see Orinsky, *Menelaos* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, Neunundzwanz-

- zigster Halbband (Stuttgart, 1931), 807-829. Stoll in Roscher, *op. cit.*, II, 2776-2791, gives no etymology.
75. Roscher, *Agamemnon*, in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 90-98.
76. *Ib.*, 130-131.
77. *Ib.*, 131.
78. Pausanias, I, 43. 1, citing Hesiod, *Catalogue of Women*.
79. See Fleischer's article in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 11-66.
80. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 2; Prince, *op. cit.*, 27; Muss-Arnolt, 35. Note also Assyrian *aklu* ('mighty, wise, ruler'), *akkilu* ('food'). The death of the deity was a source of mourning, but also a source of nourishment. With AKKIL cp. the Greek *achomai* ('to be afflicted') and *achos* ('grief'). The Sumerian sign appears to mean 'the great lord of increase.' See Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 17, 43-44, 28; Prince, *op. cit.*, 114, 198, 361-362.
81. Berry, *op. cit.*, 624.
82. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, 544.
83. See Drexler in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1595-1603, esp. 1597.
84. *Id.*, in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 2592.
85. Rose, *op. cit.*, 156-157; Seyffert, *op. cit.*, 292.
86. Homer, *Iliad*, XIX, 407 f.
87. Salomon Reinach, *Orpheus, A History of Religions*, trans. by Florence Simmonds (New York, 1930), 90.
88. Herodotus, VII, 113, G. G. Macaulay, 170.
89. Strabo, V, 1, 1, 3, 4, 8, 9; Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, Part I, *The Magic Art*, 27.
90. See above, Chapter VIII.
91. Adam of Bremen, *Gesta Hammaburgensis Ecclesiae Pontificum usque ad Annum 1072 A.D.*, IV, 27, 28; Chantepie de la Saussaye, *The Religion of the Teutons* (Boston, 1902), 383.
92. See above, Chapter IV.
93. Hyginus, *Fab.*, 243; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, VIII, 155; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, Part VI, *The Scapegoat*, 371, 407, note 2.
94. See above, Chapter VIII.
95. Cook, *Zeus*, 503-504; Strabo, 650.
96. Pausanias, VIII, 42, 1-5; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III (Oxford, 1927), 50-69.
97. Hesiod, *Theogony*, lines 270-294.
98. Miss Jane Ellen Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion* (Cambridge, 1922), 179, fig. 21; *Bull. de Corr. Hell.*, XII (1898), pl. V.
99. *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, V (1884), pl. XLIII and pages 239 f.; *Catalogue of Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum*, vol. 2, *Black-figured Vases*, by H. B. Walters, 212.
100. Cook, *Zeus*, 99, note 9, continued on page 100.
101. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 1179.

102. Edwin Sidney Hartland, *The Legend of Perseus* (London, 1894), 6. Cp. the name Persepolis ('Destroyer of Cities') and the Old Persian *parsa* ('examine into, punish') beside Old Persian *pārsa* ('Persian'). Tolman, *Ancient Persian Lexicon*, 110.
103. See above, Chapter IV.
104. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 88; Berry, *op. cit.*, 62, 429. The name of her father may be derived from the Sumerian K.LBI ('the two abodes, heaven and earth').
105. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 1223. Danaë may be derived from the Sumerian DAN, glossed by the Assyrian *dannu* ('strong') and by *asharedu* ('ruler'), and A.A. glossed by *mīlu* ('flood').
106. Berry, *op. cit.*, 28. Cp. *akrisia* ('chaos'), perhaps the region of clouds at the mountain top.
107. Stephen Langdon, *The Babylonian Epic of Creation* (Oxford, 1923), 11-20.
108. Morris Jastrow, *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* (Boston, 1898), 537-544. The Sumerian ZU is glossed by *nimēqu* ('deep wisdom'), *ruddū* ('increase'), and *šarpu* ('silver'), as well as by the god-name Zu. Astronomically, he was the divine bird in the star-group of the horse, i.e., Pegasus. Muss-Arnolt, 271. ZU is identified with Marduk, as the god of life according to Muss-Arnolt, *loc. cit.* He is the slayer and the slain, the androgynous sacred victim in a yearly sacrifice. The adversary of ZU was NIN.URTA ('god of the storm') or EN.LIL ('god of the storm'). Deimel, *Lexikon*, signs nos. 556, 535, 99, and 313.
109. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, 188.
110. Berry, *op. cit.*, IX, 3, 1-4.
111. Pausanias, *op. cit.*, IX, 3, 1-4.
112. Or Hera regarded as androgynous. Compare the stories of how she conceived children without sexual intercourse. Hesiod, *Theogony*, lines 929 a-929 c; *Homeric Hymns*, III—*To Pythian Apollo*, lines 305-355 — and of how she regained her virginity every year by bathing in a sacred spring. Pausanias, II, 38. 2. The name of the goddess has been explained as from the Sanskrit root *svā* ('to shine') or from the root *serv* found in the Latin *servāre*. It is more probable that it is derived from the Sumerian H.AR.BA, H.IR.BA ('the vital force of the moon'). The pictogram of H.AR, H.IR, like that of DAM means 'female plus male.' Like DAM it is glossed by *hāru* ('consort'). Other meanings are 1) *harru* ('circuit'), i.e., the union of the two hemispheres, sky and earth; 2) *halashu* ('be strong'), *kabittu* ('sacred'); 3) *kabru* ('great, mighty'); 4) *kadadu* ('seize in love, unite'); 5) *kirbu* ('favor'); 6) *hashū* ('entrails'), and 7) *libbu* ('heart, vital energy'). With the determinative for trees it is glossed by *kishkanū* ('the cosmic tree'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 174-175; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 14; Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 334, 467-469, 450. BA has for its pictogram the corner wedge

- written three times, and is glossed by *bantu* ('begetting') and *shalāsha* ('thirty') and *ilu Sin* ('the deity of the moon'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 46-47; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 3. Cp. with the Greek Hera the Egyptian Heru which, if derived from Sumerian, means 'the vital energy of the sun.'
113. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 63. If a compound, Alkmene would mean 'the strong moon.' See Berry, *op. cit.*, 34, *alke*, *alki* and *ib.*, 444, *mene*.
114. Apollodorus, *The Library*, II, 4. 8.
115. From *amphi* ('double') and *trūō* ('to consume, wear out') cognate with *trūpē* ('hole') and *trūpāō* ('to pierce'). Berry, *op. cit.*, 43, 719.
116. For this story see Plautus, *Amphitryo*, a play based on a lost tragedy by Sophokles.
117. Cook, *Zeus*, 570.
118. *Ib.*, 456; Hesiod, *Theogony*, 328, 5; Epim., *Frag.* 5, Kern ap. Ail., *De nat. an.* 12, 7; Hyg., *Fab.*, 30.
119. Sir Arthur Evans, *The Palace of Minos* (London, 1921), 159.
120. Compare the Greek *alkē* ('strength') (Berry, *op. cit.*, 34), beside the Sumerian AL.KI where AL is glossed by *allu* ('strength') and KI by *eršitu* ('earth'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 27, 202; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 2, 17. Studniczka in Kyrene, *eine Altgriechische Göttin* (Leipzig, 1890), 152, derives Alkmene from *alkimē* ('strong').
121. Berry, *op. cit.*, 12.
122. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, III, 64-67; Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 877.
123. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, s. u. *Deinaneira*.
124. Berry, *op. cit.*, 301.
125. Miss Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis*, 381; Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1869-1871.
126. Miss Harrison, *op. cit.*, 369. For the story of Herakles see A. Furtwängler in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 2135-2252; Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 95-174; Rose, *op. cit.*, 205-229.
127. Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, IX, *The Scapegoat*, 351 and note 3.
128. Hiller v. Gaertringen, *Eurystheus* in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, Elfter Halbband (Stuttgart, 1907), 1354-1356.
129. Cp. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 1039, s. u. *phrix* ('hérissement, frisson') and Pape-Benseler, 1648, *Phrixos* = der Schauder personifiziert.
130. See Höfer in Roscher, *op. cit.*, II, 63-88 and Seeliger, *Argonautensage*, *ib.*, II, 503-537.
131. Cook, *Zeus*, 248. Cp. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, 203.
132. Cook, *loc. cit.*
133. Hesiod, *Theogony*, lines 969-973. Their son was Ploutos, the god of wealth. Iason and Iasion are equivalent according to Hermann Usener, *Götternamen* (Bonn, 1896), 156. Rendel Harris, *Boanerges*, 229, cites evidence to show that Iason or Iasion was the twin of Triptolemos.
134. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 75; Seeliger in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 503.
135. Pausanias, II, 3, 11.

136. The Scholiast on Pindar, cited by Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, I, 202.
137. Pausanias, II, 3, 6-7.
138. Farnell, *loc. cit.* The children of Medeia were said to be fourteen in number. Other traditions mention only two.
139. Medos is the eponymous ancestor of the Medes, those late arriving kinsmen of the Sumerians or Madai. The Sumerian ME.DU means 'maker of laws' or 'maker of spells.' ME is glossed by *paršu* ('law') and by *shiptu* ('incantation'). ME.DU had Greek cognates. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 618, *s. u.* *medeōn* and *medō*. Cp. Berry, *op. cit.*, 429. Mēdeia and Medousa appear to have been equivalent titles meaning 'queen' or 'witch.'
140. As to Theseus, see Seyffert, *op. cit.*, 632-633; Steuding in Roscher, *op. cit.*, V, 678-760, and Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 337-340; Miss Jane Ellen Harrison, *Themis*, 336-341.
141. See Steuding in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 540-547.
142. As to the abduction of Helen by Theseus, see Apollodorus, *The Library*, III, 10, 7 and the authorities cited by Frazer in his note on this passage, *Apollodorus*, II, 25, note 2. For his attempt to carry off Persephone see Apollodorus, *Epitome*, I, 23-24, Frazer, *Apollodorus*, II, 153 and note 4.
143. Homer, *Odyssey*, XI, 321-325.
144. *Plutarch's Lives*, the translation called Dryden's corrected from the Greek and revised by Arthur Hugh Clough (Boston, 1872), I, 19.
145. As to Hippolytos see Seyffert, *op. cit.*, 298; Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 64-70; Salomon Reinach, *Orpheus*, 89-90; Sauer in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 2681-2687; Euripides, *Hippolytos*, *passim*; Miss Harrison, *Themis*, 336-340.
146. Berry, *op. cit.*, 749; Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 1010.
147. Loukian, *de dea Syr.*, 55-60. Miss Harrison, *op. cit.*, 336-337.
148. Pausanias, II, 32, 1-3.
149. His name may be the Sumerian MIN.US. MIN, MAN was the corner wedge written twice. It was glossed by *māshu* ('twin') and by *Shamash* ('the sun-god'). US was glossed by *ridū* ('phallos') and by *zikaru* ('male'). The Cretan king's name would therefore mean 'the male sun,' if it is derived from Sumerian. According to Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, IV, *The Dying God*, 71, the story of Minos 'appears to reflect a mythical marriage of the sun and moon which was acted as a solemn rite by the king and queen of Knossos wearing the masks of a bull and a cow respectively.'
150. See Türk, *Pasiphaë* in Roscher, III, 1665-1673.
151. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 944.
152. Frazer, *op. cit.*, 71.
153. Apollodorus, *Epitome*, I, 15, Frazer, II, 143 and note 1. The text says that Minos was 'set free' by this treatment.
154. Perhaps from *katá* ('down') and *hrēō* ('to flow'). Berry, *op. cit.*, 350, 623. But cp. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 637, where it is derived from *krateus* ('The High'). Cp. Boisacq, *op. cit.*, 511.

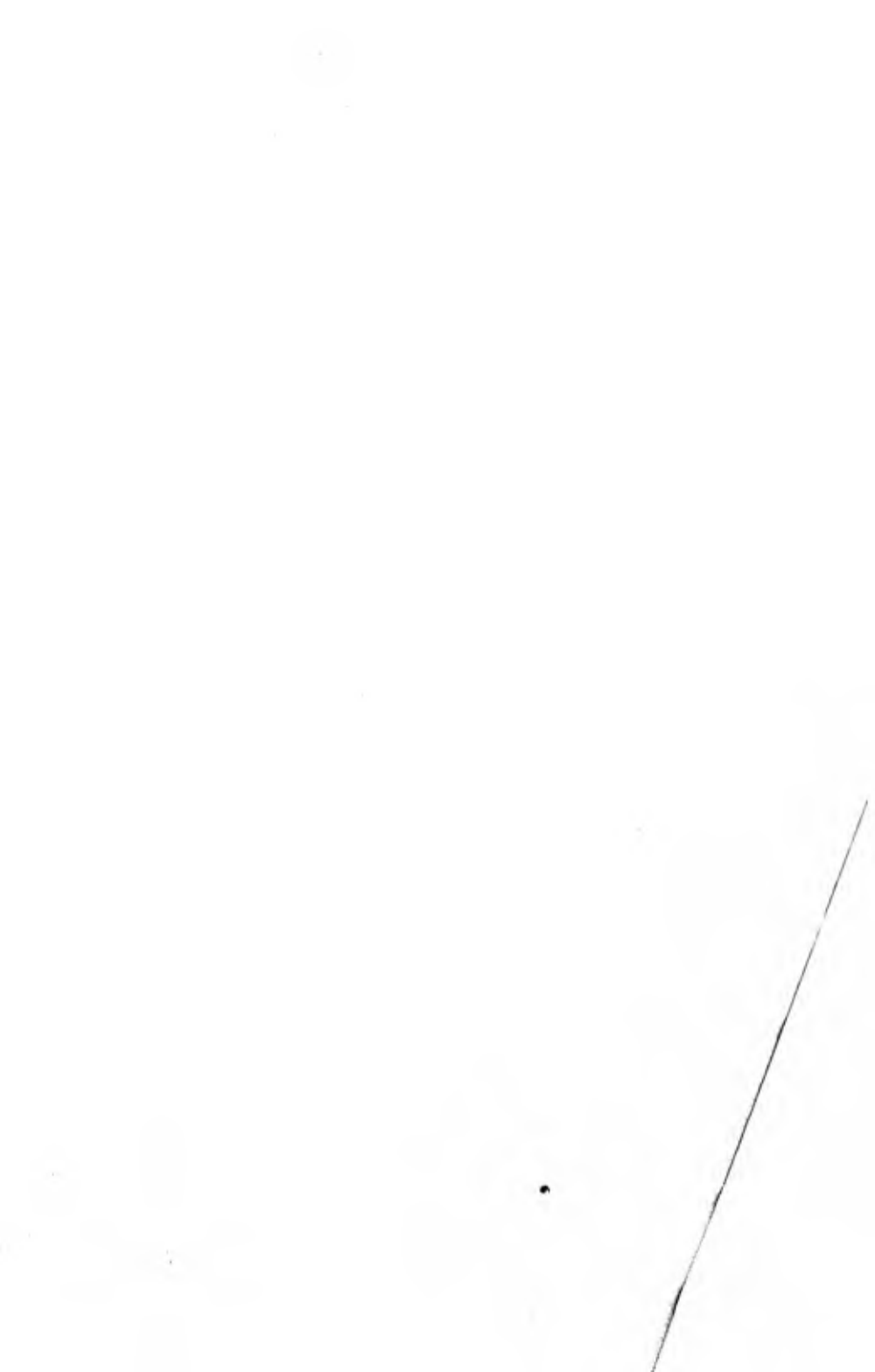
155. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 58.
156. Schreiber, *Althaimenes* in Roscher, I, 260-261.
157. Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 87.
158. Roscher, *Androgeos* in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 342-343.
159. Seyffert, *op. cit.*, 257; Gaedechens, *Glaukos* in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1686-1687.
160. Apollodorus, *Epitome*, III, 5; *id.*, *Theogony*, I, 6, 2. The name of the god may be the Sumerian HIR.MESH ('the vital energy of the male'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 178, 174, 236; Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 14, 22.
161. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 923-924.
162. Farnell, *Greek Hero Cults*, 21.
163. Miss Harrison, *Prolegomena to the Study of Greek Religion*, Third Edition (Cambridge, 1922), 578-579; Pausanias, IX, 39, 1-14, and IX, 40, 1-2.
164. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, II, 513; Pausanias, IV, 1, 8; Newton, *Halicarn.*, 714, pl. LXXXIX, no. 14 (Collitz, *Dialect. Insc.* 3520); Aristotle, *Thesmoph.*, 977, 295.
165. *The Lyrical Dramas of Aeschylus*, translated into English by John Stuart Blackie (London, n.d.), 319.
166. Athenaios, 375 F-376 A. He gives as his authority the first book *On Kyzikos* by Agathokles the Babylonian and adds that Neanthes of Kyzikos in his second book *On Ritual* gives much the same account. See Neanthes, *frag.* 25 (*Frag. hist. Gr.*, III, 8, Muller). Cp. Cook, *Zeus*, 653.
167. Cook, *Zeus*, 652, and note 3.
168. Sir Arthur Evans in *Journal of Hellenic Studies*, XXXII (1912), 279 f.; XI (1901), 177, fig. 53, 176, fig. 52.
169. Pythagoras, v. *Pyth.*, 17; Cook, *Zeus*, 646.
170. Miss Harrison, *op. cit.*, 419, interprets his name as 'The God of Beer.' Cp. A. Fick, *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* (Göttingen, 1905), 63 f. He refers it to a place-name. But he does not say what the place-name means. For other etymologies, none of them very convincing, see Eisele, *Saba-zios* in Roscher, *op. cit.*, IV, 232-264.
171. Arnobius, *Adversus Nationes*, 5, 20 f.; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore Profanarum Religionum*, 10; Clement of Alexandria, *Protrept.*, II, 14-15, editor Butterworth, 34-36; Cook, *Zeus*, 390-403.
172. Johannes Schmidt, *Typhoeus, Typhon* in Roscher, *op. cit.*, V, 1426-1454.
173. Ovid, *Metamorphoses*, V, 325-331.
174. Thureau-Dangin, *op. cit.*, 39, 38; Prince, *op. cit.*, 363-364. For the archaic sign see Mercer, *op. cit.*, 9. For the identity of this god with Marduk, whose name is Sumerian, see Muss-Arnolt, *op. cit.*, 271. Cp. also Deimel, *op. cit.*, sign no. 84.
175. See Lackeit, *Koronis* in Pauly-Wissowa-Kroll, *op. cit.*, Elfter Band (Stuttgart, 1922), 1431-1434. He discards the old popular etymology which derived the name from *korōnē* ('crow'). But cp. *korōnis* ('crooked,

- curved, bent') (Berry, *op. cit.*, 389), a term which might well describe the crescent moon, the natural bride of the sun.
176. Berry, *op. cit.*, 617. It may also mean 'Causing to Rot' and so denote the deity of the Underworld.
 177. *The Homeric Hymns*, III — *To Pythian Apollo*, lines 300-374, Evelyn-White, 344-351.
 178. Cook, *Zeus*, II, 208-209.
 179. As to Apollo see Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, Dritter Halbband (Stuttgart, 1895), 1-111; A. Furtwängler in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 422-467; Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, 98-355; Rendel Harris, *The Ascent of Olympus*, 17-55; Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (New York, 1925), 71-72; Seyffert, *op. cit.*, 41-44.
 180. Apollodorus, III, 10, 4; Servius on Virgil, *Aen.*, VII, 761; Diodorus, IV, 71, VI, 7. See also Frazer's note on Pausanias, II, 7, 7, in his *Pausanias's Description of Greece*, III, 53-57. Apollo had to serve Ares for eight years, which recalls the eight year cycle in the rites of Minos of Crete. He was made a thrall to Admetos for a year to expiate his murder of the Kyklopes who forged the bolt that smote Asklepios. These two expiations are based on the same cult, that of the dying god.
 181. Ovid, *Met.*, I, 553-556.
 182. Pausanias, VIII, 20, 4.
 183. Rendel Harris, *op. cit.*, 6-7, 21.
 184. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, IV, 126.
 185. *Ib.*, 125.
 186. *Ib.*, 125-130, 264-267.
 187. *The Homeric Hymns*, III — *To Pythian Apollo*, lines 315-320, Evelyn-White, 346-347.
 188. Angelo de Gubernatis, *Zoölogical Mythology*, 32.
 189. Compare Sumerian ARI, glossed by *arū* ('enemy') and *abū* ('hostile, enemy') and *ḫatanu* ('to defend'). Also Sanskrit *ari* ('hostile, enemy'). Prince, *op. cit.*, 39; Monier-Williams, *op. cit.*, 87. See Sauer, *Ares* in Pauly-Wissowa, III (Stuttgart, 1893), 692-698; Stoll, *Ares* in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 2036-2075; Farnell, *op. cit.*, V, 374-407. See also Pape-Benseler, *op. cit.*, 124; Fick, *op. cit.*, 438-439.
 190. Pausanias, III, 14, 9.
 191. See Kern in Pauly-Wissowa, *op. cit.*, Neunter Halbband (Stuttgart, 1903), 1010-1046; E. Thraemer in Roscher, *op. cit.*, I, 1029-1153; Farnell, *op. cit.*, V, 85-344.
 192. Farnell, *op. cit.*, IV, 115.
 193. Rendel Harris, *The Ascent of Olympus*, 29-30.
 194. Cp. Euripides, *Bacchae*, 3. 'I, Dionysos, whom the brand of heaven's hot splendour lit to life.' Gilbert Murray's translation, 7.
 195. Apollodorus, *The Library*, III, 5, 3, 3; Miss Harrison, *Themis*, 420.
 196. Farnell, *op. cit.*, V, 161-174.

NOTES

197. Aristotle, *Constitution of Athens*, III, 5.
198. Pausanias, II, 36, 5; Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 35.
199. Herodotus, II, 53.
200. Gilbert Murray, *Five Stages of Greek Religion*, 85.
201. *Ib.*, 91.
202. *Ib.*, 96-98.
203. Hesiod, *Works and Days*, lines 230-235, Evelyn-White, 21.

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